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Ohio arch ological and
historical quarterly

OHIO

Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XXXVII

1928



COLUMBUS:

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY

by

FRED. J. HEER

1929

THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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OHIO

Archaeological and Historical PUBLICATIONS

SOME OHIO CAVES AND ROCK SHELTERS BEARING
EVIDENCES OF HUMAN OCCUPANCY

BY H. C. SHETRONE,
Curator of Archæology

CANTER'S CAVES — KETTLE HILL CAVE

Caves, caverns and rock-shelters are fruitful sources of archaeological evidence, particularly as regards the early phases of human development. Primitive humans the world over very naturally repaired to these ready-made retreats in time of stress, whether from inclement weather, danger from wild beasts or threats from their own kind. Thus every cave is a potential prehistoric habitation.

Augmentation of the floors of caves through deposition of wind-blown and water-carried debris and soil and through decomposition of the rock in which they occur, provides an ideal repository for the material evi-

This report, dealing with the so-called Canter's Caves and Kettle Hill Cave, admittedly is incomplete and is submitted as a preliminary paper, to be supplemented later by fuller information. It is the sentiment of the Society that where exhaustive exploration cannot be anticipated immediately, the results of partial examination should not be withheld from the public and the student. No attempt is made to include herein studies of the skeletal material and textiles found in the shelters.

dences left within them by erstwhile occupants. Where caves are free from excessive moisture even the more fragile and perishable materials may be preserved. Without the evidences afforded by the caverns and shelters of western Europe, much that is known of the early chapters of human history would remain unrecorded.

The Devonian and Silurian limestone areas of western Ohio contain numerous caves or caverns, while the sandstone series of the eastern one-half of the state present many rock-shelters, so-called. The former have been carefully studied, described and mapped* as to physical features, but have not been examined for prehistoric human occupancy. However, it is known that several and perhaps most of them bear evidences of such use. On the whole they are not well adapted to habitation purposes, since for the most part they lie in the heavily glaciated area where topographical relief is not great. The exceptions are the several caves on Rocky Fork Creek, in Highland County, the entrances to which are from the side of the deep valley of the stream, in contrast to the sink-hole openings to the more northerly caves.

Locations of limestone caves and caverns, and of rock-shelters which have yielded evidences of human habitation, are shown on the accompanying map. In each instance, the names of the more important are given.

Rock-shelters are abundant throughout the coal measures of south-central Ohio, particularly in the Black Hand and the Sharon conglomerates of Fairfield, Hocking, Vinton, Jackson, Scioto and adjoining coun-

* White, George W., "Limestone Caves and Caverns of Ohio"; *Ohio Journal of Science*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, 1926.

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* White, George W., "Limestone Caves and Caverns of Ohio"; *Ohio Journal of Science*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, 1926.



Outline Map of Ohio showing location of the more important Limestone Caverns and Sandstone Shelters. The former are shown by triangular symbols and letters, while the latter are indicated by crescents and numerals:

CAVERNS

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| A—Put-in-Bay Caves | F—Ohio Caverns |
| B—Crystal Rock Caves | G—Painter Creek Cave |
| C—Good's Caves | H—Miami River Cave |
| D—Underground River Cave | I—Buckskin Caves |
| E—Zane's Caverns | J—Rocky Fork Caves |
| | K—Lawrence Cave |

ROCK SHELTERS

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| 1—Kettle Hill Rock Shelter | 6—Buzzard Rock |
| 2—Old Man's Cave | 7—Canter's Caves |
| 3—Ash Cave | 8—Peter's Cave |
| 4—Rock House | 9—Saltpetre Cave |
| 5—Boone Rock | 10—Horse Cave |

ties. Within these areas, and throughout the sandstone exposures in either direction adjacent to the Ohio River, there are hundreds of shelters, for the most part small and unimportant. They have received but scant attention geologically and, with the exceptions herein noted, have not been examined for human remains. Probably the greater number bear some evidence of use by primitive man. For the most part the rock-shelters are exposed and to an equal degree wet, or moist. A few are of appreciable size and wholly or in part quite dry.

The only systematic exploration of Ohio rock-shelters so far effected, up to the present, was conducted by Professor William C. Mills,* in three shelters located in Jackson County, Ohio. These shelters, known as Boone Rock, Buzzard Rock and a third without name, yielded a quantity of materials of the usual sort, but nothing of a perishable nature, although their floors, in part, were fairly dry. Animal and bird bones, bone awls, flint implements and fragments of pottery-ware, occurring rather sparsely, indicated but temporary occupancy by tribes culturally rather low. The finding, at or near the surface of the floor in one of these caves, of several small objects of European origin, indicated that use of the shelters had continued until contact had been established between the Indians and the whites. For the most part the occupants were demonstrably the Algonquian Indians of the region, with occasional visits from the Hopewell mound-building culture peoples, as evidenced by the finding of fragments of Hopewell pottery.

* Mills, William C., "Archaeological Remains in Jackson County," *Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio*, Vol. II, part 2.

CANTER'S CAVES

The uncertainty of results attending archaeological exploration is well exemplified in comparing the meager returns from the above-mentioned shelters with another, only a few miles removed. Canter's Caves, so-called, are located about five miles northwest of the town of Jackson, in Jackson County, Ohio. The caves — which in reality are twin shelters, known locally as Echo Cave and Indian Cave — are situated on the east side of Little Salt Creek, the general course of which is from southeast to northwest. The valley of the stream, in this particular locality, is quite narrow, forming a typical "hollow." Its borders are precipitous, as a result of erosion of the Sharon conglomerate and the gradual lowering of the stream bed. The caves are many feet higher than the present level of the creek, and while the stream primarily is responsible for their origin, decomposition of the conglomerate rock certainly is in great part responsible for the present size of the shelters.

On the archaeological map of Ohio, Jackson County appears as an anomaly. It is fairly dotted with mounds and other prehistoric human remains while the remainder of the extensive area of unglaciated territory of southern and southeastern Ohio is practically devoid of such evidences. Although too rugged and broken to invite primitive human occupancy, there are, within a radius of ten miles of the center of the county, 170 burial mounds, a score of identified camp and village-sites, half a dozen earthen enclosures and a striking group of petroglyphs or rock pictures. Of the thirty or more rock-shelters within the area, practically all show evidences of occupancy. The answer is — salt.

The saline springs * located on the headwaters of Salt Creek, at the center of the county, were the magnet which brought into this otherwise forbidding territory countless streams of aborigines through a long period of time. That the population of the region was transient, is evidenced by the fact that practically all the mounds are small, mostly covering a single burial; the village- and camp-sites are unpretentious and clearly of temporary or intermittent occupancy; while the rock-shelters, with one or two exceptions, show but transitory habitation.

It is a matter of regret that scientific and exhaustive examination of Canter's Caves cannot be reported. Mr. George N. Miller, owner of the tract on which the shelters are located, in converting the site into a pleasure resort in 1925, discovered and removed numerous evidences of human occupancy therein. Fortunately, Mr. Miller, although unaware at the time of the scientific interest of his finds, possessed an innate sense of orderly procedure. The two shelters were carefully dug over, all specimens, including even flint chips and animal and bird bones, being preserved. In the instance of fabrics and other perishable materials, he displayed an ingenuity in the matter of removal and preservation worthy of a trained explorer. Later, he graciously turned over to the Museum the greater part of his material for study purposes and display.

In anticipation of this report, the writer spent some time at the shelter site in company with Mr. Miller, securing all available measurements, photographs and field notes.

* For description, see Professor Mills' report, previously cited.

The larger of the two shelters — known locally as Echo Cave — measures 108 feet wide at its mouth and has a maximum depth of 55 feet. Its floor is oval or roughly semicircular in form, and drops off sharply at its northern end or side to the bottom of the gully where, 60 feet below, is a fine spring of water. The opening



FIGURE 1. A View of Echo Cave at the Time of its Examination.

of the shelter is toward the east. The roof, at the opening, is approximately 50 feet in height and diminishes gradually toward the back, where it varies from three to five feet in height. The accumulation of sand, soil and ashes within the shelter varies in thickness from one foot to four feet. Numerous large detached boulders of sandstone conglomerate lie upon and embedded in

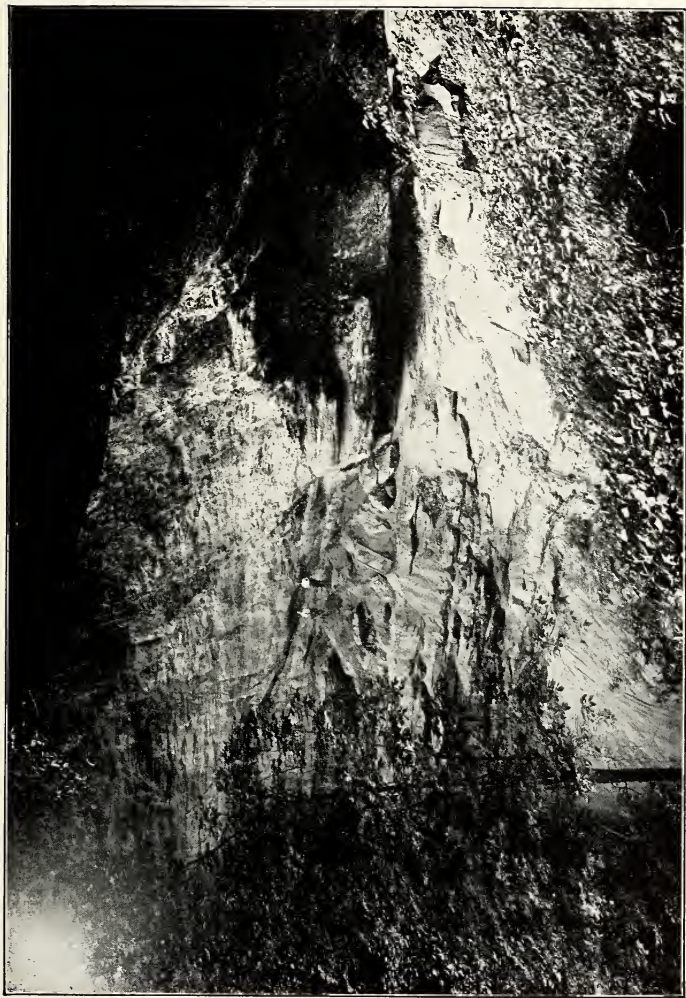


FIGURE 2. Photographic View of Indian Cave.

the accumulated debris. A view of Echo Cave is shown in Fig. 1.

The second shelter, known as Indian Cave, is a few rods to the southwest of Echo Cave. It is somewhat smaller, but corresponds closely in its physical aspects to the larger cave. In form, it is roughly triangular and has, toward its northern extremity, a low extension, oval in form, about 30 feet long, two to three feet high and eight to 16 feet in width. The photograph (Fig. 2) affords a view of Indian Cave.

In the shelter known as Echo Cave, Mr. Miller found a total of seven burials — four adults, a child, and two infants. Three of the adult burials lay near the back wall of the shelter, toward its north end. A third adult skeleton, minus the skull, was located underneath the edge of a large sandstone boulder detached from the roof of the shelter and located 12 feet out from the back wall about midway from north to south. Owing to the extremely dry conditions prevailing in the rear of the shelter, portions of the skin and tissues of the body were desiccated, thus retaining the bones of the skeleton in place. Parts of a blanket or garment of roughly woven fabric (Fig. 3) were in place about the hips. This skeleton was removed intact and is now on exhibition in the Museum.

Beneath the edges of the same boulder, there were found the skeletons of two children and an infant. Toward the front of the shelter, north of center, there was located a large fireplace, around which were scattered burned stones, potsherds and animal and bird bones.

The skeleton of a young adult, partly cremated or accidentally burned, was enveloped in a vest-like gar-

ment of plaited rushes with a facing of deerskin leather. (Fig. 4.) This skeleton, found near the center of the cave, had been disturbed, possibly by rodents. Only the bones of the arms and torso remained, with the enclosing garment.

With the exception of the above-mentioned skeletons, all relics found in the shelter were scattered promiscuously through the debris of the cave.

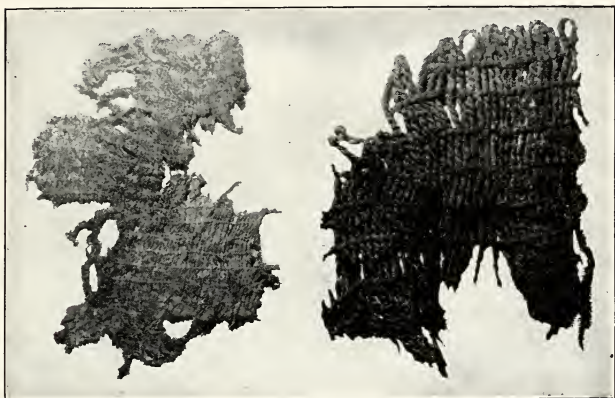


FIGURE 3. Portions of Woven Fabric Enveloping a Human Skeleton Found in Echo Cave.

In addition to the material artifacts common alike to each of the shelters, to be noted presently, Echo Cave produced a number of interesting and distinctive specimens. Among these is a pouch (Fig. 5), rectangular in form, of a loose reticular weave, the material being flat splint-like fibers. The specimen is about seven inches wide and long. Within it were found seven bone awls, only partly finished, made from split sections of the leg-

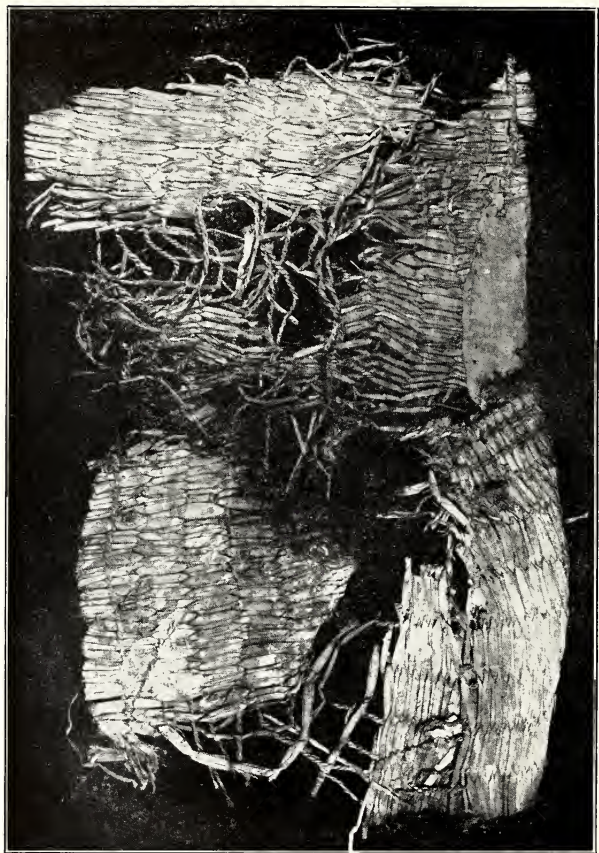


FIGURE 4. A Vest-like Garment of Plaited Rushes From a Burial in Echo Cave.

bone of the deer. This pouch was found in close proximity to the partly cremated skeleton bearing the vest-like garment, and may have been deposited with it and later dislodged by rodents. The form and character suggest that it was worn at the belt.

The vest-like garment, mentioned above, is shown in Fig. 4. It is fragmentary, portions having been destroyed by the fire, either accidental or intentional, which



FIGURE 5. Pouch, or Bag, and Bone Awls Found with a Burial in Echo Cave.

consumed a portion of the body or skeleton on which the garment was found.

An interesting basket (Fig. 6) was found in the debris of this shelter. It suggests the modern shopping bag, and is woven of coarse grass.

Most striking of the various objects from Echo Cave are a series of sandals (Figs. 7 and 8) representing an unexpected degree of textile artistry and some unusual features. A characteristic of these sandals is the long



FIGURE 6. Carrying Basket Found in Echo Cave.

broad flap or "tongue," integral with the weaving at the toe, and extending backward and upward to cover and protect the instep. As contrasted to the flat sandal, intended merely to protect the sole of the foot, those from Canter's Caves are semi-moccasin in type, woven in such manner as to extend part way up the sides and back of the foot. Cross-lacings of twisted cords and thongs, passing through the loops at either side of the sandal

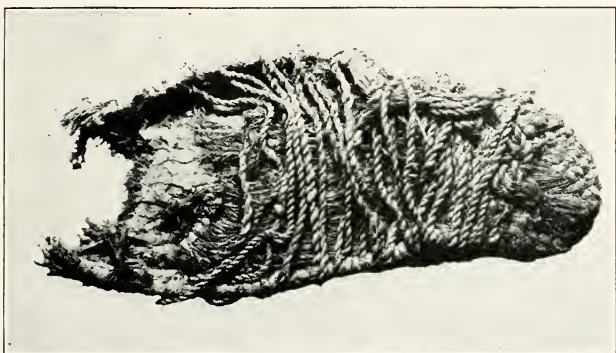


FIGURE 7. Sandal from Echo Cave.

secured them in place. The materials from which these sandals are woven are *Nolina georgiana*, and bast, or bark fiber.

Five adult skeletons were found in Indian Cave, four of which were placed along the back wall proper and one just within the recess or extension of the shelter at the north.

In the accumulated litter within the shelter, was found a large and remarkably well-preserved portion of a fish-net, shown in Fig. 9. This net fragment measures

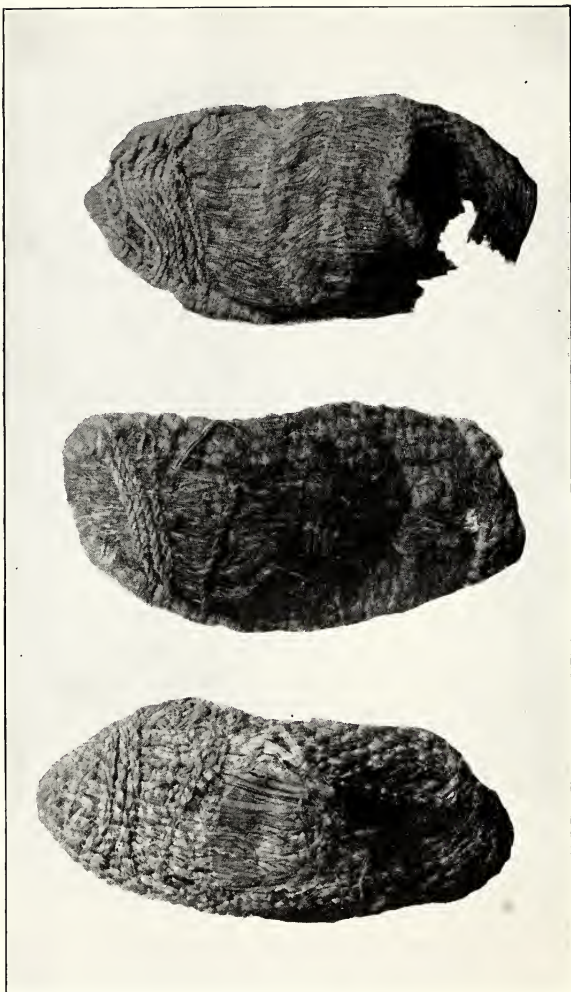


FIGURE 8. Types of Sandals Found in Echo Cave.

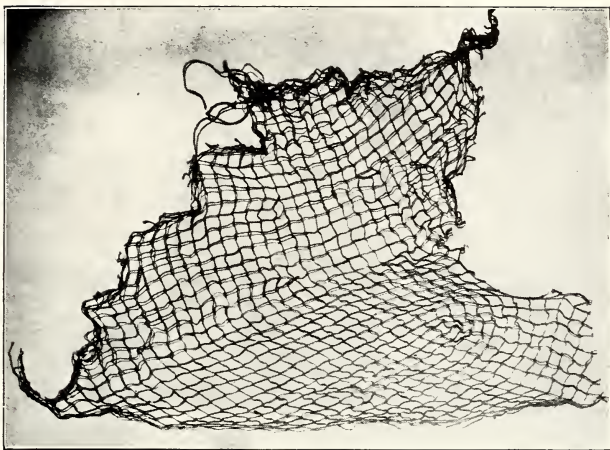


FIGURE 9. Portion of a Fish Net Found in Indian Cave.

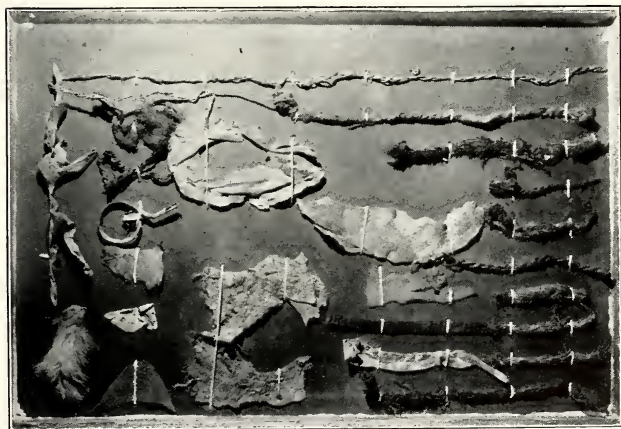


FIGURE 10. Fragments of Leather and Cord from Indian Cave.

16 by 18 inches, with regularly spaced meshes three-eighths inch across. The thread is spun from the fiber of the Swamp Milkweed (*Asclepias incarnata*) and is fine and firmly made. The only other articles of more than usual interest found in this shelter were numerous fragments of twine and cord, illustrated in Fig. 10.

OBJECTS COMMON TO BOTH SHELTERS.

Numerous minor objects, indicative of the culture of their occupants, were found alike in each of the two shelters at Canter's Caves. These include flint arrow-points, a few hammer-stones and two or three stone celts or ungrooved axes; numerous potsherds; bone awls; occasional worked bits of wooden objects; many fragments of woven fabric, cord and twine; samples of bark and plant fibers, strips of skin and leather, cut, fringed, sewed and twisted; innumerable animal and bird bones.

The flint arrow-points are fairly abundant, of rather indifferent workmanship, and are made chiefly from native chert and from the Vinton County black flint. The greater number of them are notched or stemmed (the former predominating) while a smaller percentage are of the triangular unnotched type. A single flint arrow-point with the fiber wrapping with which it had been attached to the arrow-shaft, was found (see Fig. 11, center row, extreme right). Portions of wooden arrow-shafts, both proximal and distal ends, were found, but none with the flint point in place. Several tips of shafts, pointed and slightly charred as though to harden them, were found. The hammer-stones from these shelters were merely water-worn boulders showing slight indications of use; the two or three celts found were fragmentary and of the usual form.

Pottery fragments from both shelters are alike and are from ware of fair quality. Tempering materials are shell and pulverized rock or coarse sand, with shell predominating. For the most part the surface is plain, but cord-marked and fabric-marked ware is not unusual. In a few specimens rudimentary lugs occur at the rim, deco-



FIGURE 11. Types of Arrow Points from Canter's Caves. Specimen at right center bears thong with which it was attached to arrow shaft.

rated with incisions or notches. A single handle from a vessel occurs. Fragments of very heavy vessels suggest their use in salt-making. The range of surface treatments is shown in Fig. 12.

Bone awls from the two shelters are for the most part of the splint variety. A few are made from sections

of the leg-bones of the wild turkey and other large birds and a single one from the metapodial bone of the deer. A few specimens are drilled or grooved for suspension. The range of forms is shown in Fig. 13.

Three interesting objects of wood are shown in Fig. 14. Above is a tubular section of wild cane, suggesting



FIGURE 12. Fragments of Pottery-ware from Canter's Caves.

use as a pipe-stem. The tube is scarred at each end, as though from being held between the teeth. However, no tobacco-pipes were found in the shelters, nor in any others so far examined in southern Ohio, and there is no evidence of smoking by the occupants. In the illustration, in addition to the cane tube, are shown a small wooden wedge, and a section of twig or vine lashed to the stem of a plant.

Examples of woven fabric, twined and braided cord, skins and leathers are shown in Figures 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26.

Determinations of the vegetable fibers represented in the textile activities of the occupants of the two shelters were made for the Museum by Professor J. H. Schaffner, of the department of botany, Ohio State University. The most interesting of the several varieties of fibers is



FIGURE 13. Typical Bone Awls and Perforators from Canter's Caves.

the *Nolina georgiana*, or Britton, which occurs perhaps more frequently than any other. The *Nolina*, a tall grass-like plant growing on the southeastern seaboard (Georgia and Florida) was used extensively in the weaving of sandals. A number of the dried *Nolina* plants (see Fig. 15) constituted a part of a large mass of raw material for use in preparing thread and twine found in Echo Cave. Other vegetable fibers and substances identified were: Big Bluestem grass (*Andro*

pogon furcatus Muhl), Little Bluestem (*Andropogon scoparius* Michx.); Indian Hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum* L., *Asclepias incarnata* L., *Asclepias pulchra*, *Linaria linaria* and *Abutilon abutilon*); American Linden (*Tilia americana*) and several of the Monocotylea. The seeds and shells of the pumpkin (*cucurbita pepo* L.) and

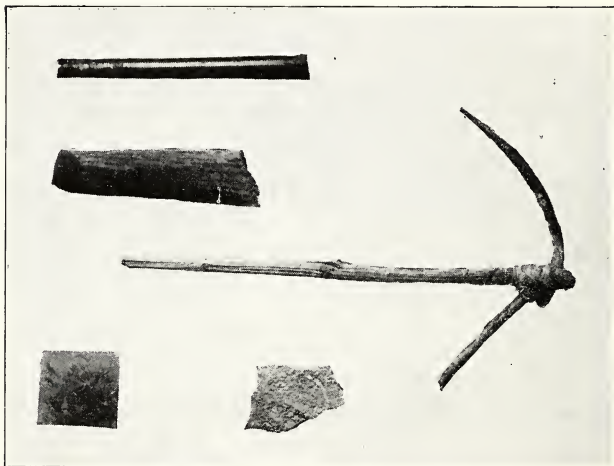


FIGURE 14. Hollow Reed, Wooden Wedge, Twigs lashed together with Vegetable Fiber and portions of Gourds—Echo Cave.

the gourd (*Lagenaria vulgaris* Ser.) were in evidence, as were all the common native nuts, wild grapes and other fruits. Corn-cobs were in moderate occurrence.

The list of animal and bird bones comprised most of the common native species, with those of the deer and wild turkey predominating, and the rarer species, such as the fisher, porcupine and otter, absent. Shells of the mussel and the turtle were present in moderate quantity;

fish-bones were present, but rare, despite the proximity of the shelters to the stream.

KETTLE HILL CAVE

The Rock-Shelter known as Kettle Hill Cave is situated in Berne Township, Fairfield County, Ohio, about three miles south of the city of Lancaster. The shelter



FIGURE 15. Dried Plants of *Nolina georgiana* from Canter's Caves.

is located at about the center of the curve of a crescent-shaped wall of sandstone (Black Hand conglomerate) some three-fourths of a mile in circumference and opening toward the south. The sandstone wall varies from 30 to 70 feet in height and for the most part is precipitous and cliff-like, with numerous smaller shelters flanking the principal one at its center. The depression

within the curve is the old bed of the Hocking River, which since has changed its course, and is now occupied by a small tributary of that stream. Immediately below



FIGURE 16. View of Kettle Hill Cave as Seen from the Cliff, one-eighth of a Mile to the Southwest.

and in front of the cave is a fine spring of water of unfailing flow. The entire region is wooded and strikingly secluded. The interesting flora is that of the noted

Sugar Grove district, of perennial attraction to the botanist owing to its archaic character. All in all, Kettle Hill Cave was an admirable and inviting abode for primitive man, and that it was recognized as such is evidenced from the numerous "relics" found therein throughout the past several decades.

For many years throughout the early history of Fairfield County, Kettle Hill Cave was a rendezvous for fugitives from the law, particularly those of the variety known as horse thieves. Early county records show that at one time heavy equine tribute was levied upon the rural inhabitants, until concerted action on the part of county authorities succeeded in "rounding up" the miscreants and capturing them within the confines of Kettle Hill Cave. The records were borne out through the finding, by the writer, of numerous fragments of harness and other horse equipment during the partial examination of the shelter with which this paper deals.

Kettle Hill Cave measures 157 feet in length, 29 feet in maximum depth and is 35 feet from floor to roof at outer center. From four to six feet of debris, consisting of habitation refuse, aeolian deposits, decomposed sandstone and blocks of the component rock ranging in size from inconsiderable fragments to pieces of several tons weight, covers the floor of the shelter. Views of the shelter are shown in Figs. 16, 17 and 18.

In the spring of 1925, local Boy Scouts, armed with the common knowledge that relics were to be found in the shelter, engaged in desultory digging. Their efforts produced a number of objects of the usual sort, and a remarkably interesting burial. This burial (Fig. 19) was that of a female, of early middle life, which had

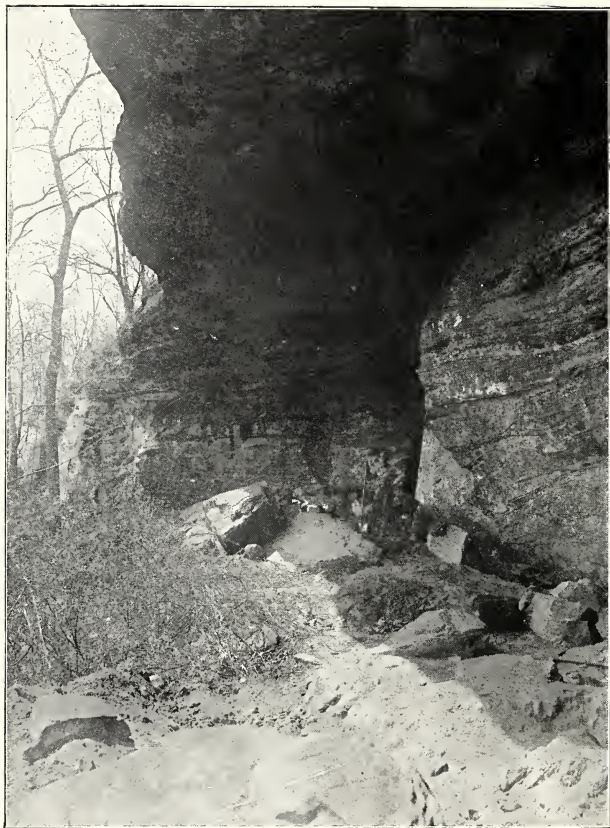


FIGURE 17. Interior of Kettle Hill Cave, Looking West.

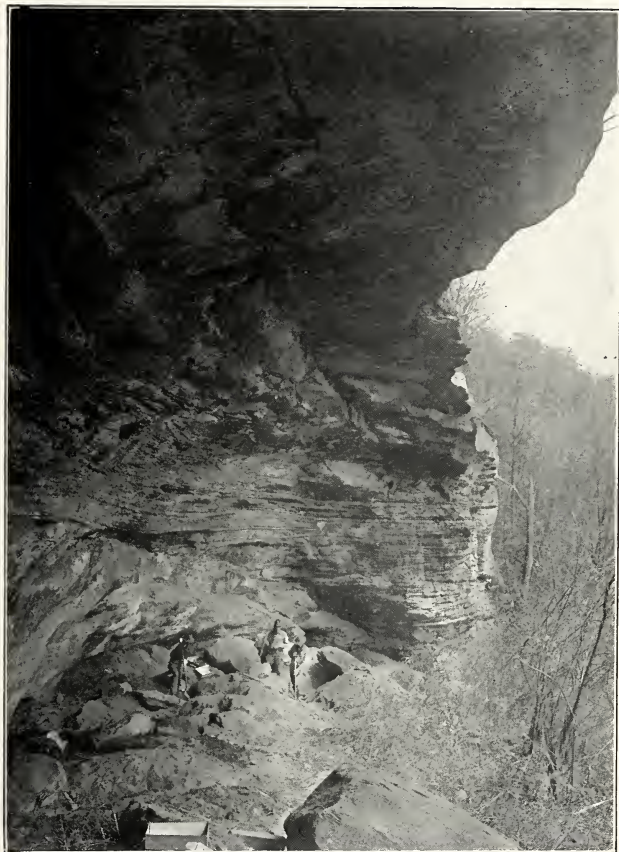


FIGURE 18. Eastern End of Kettle Hill Cave.



FIGURE 19. Partially Mummified Burial Found in Kettle Hill Cave.

been deposited just below the surface of the debris, beneath the inclined edge of a large block of sandstone. The body had been buried in a flexed position, on the right side. Owing to the extreme dryness of the shelter, the skeleton, as well as the skin and tissues enveloping it and a burial shroud consisting of several thicknesses or folds of woven fabric, were remarkably well preserved.

Fortunately, news of the discovery came to the attention of Robert Goslin, of Lancaster, a local student of archæology, who since has served as field assistant to the writer. Mr. Goslin repaired to the scene and effected the removal of the "mummy" with consummate care.

In the spring of 1926, the writer, in company with Mr. Goslin, spent one week in a preliminary examination of Kettle Hill Shelter. It was found that practically the entire deposit to a depth of two to three feet, had been worked over by the Boy Scouts and by other local relic hunters who had preceded them. These early searchers, it is learned, had removed several skeletons, none of which presented the accidental mummification noted in the foregoing burial. They secured many flint arrow-points, pottery fragments, bone awls and a single "birch-bark" sandal.

Our examination disclosed that the heavy deposit within the shelter was proverbially dust-dry, so that its examination was attended with marked discomfort. The mere setting of a foot upon its surface sufficed to raise a cloud of dust, and when disturbed by the shovel or the trowel, the air immediately became charged with impalpable dust particles. Owing to lack of time, only sufficient examination was effected to make certain that

further amateur digging would not disturb remains of an important character. While no further burials were disclosed, objects of interest rewarded this partial exploration. Surprisingly enough, only the upper two feet of the deposit appeared to be prolific in occupation evidences, while beneath lay a more or less sterile belt of about equal thickness. At one point only was the deposit removed to the floor, where scant charcoal and ash, a few bits of charred bone and flint chips indicated habitation. Thorough examination of this shelter, planned for the future, may reveal very early occupation, possibly by a pre-pottery people. Although no pottery was in evidence in the lower levels examined — an area of approximately ten feet square — the assumption of pre-pottery habitation on such scant evidence would be, of course, unjustified. It is felt, however, that any existing evidence of very early habitation of the Ohio area will be found, if at all, in such shelters as that at Kettle Hill Cave.

An interesting object unearthed from the debris of the shelter is the petroglyph shown in Fig. 20. The stone itself, a detached fragment of the component sandstone, roughly rectangular in form and measuring approximately 20 inches across in either dimension, apparently is from the roof or side of the shelter. On it are incised the boldly outlined figures of two human beings with bird-like heads and flowing hair or head-dresses. Portions of other similar figures may be discerned, the several individuals apparently forming a procession, each with a hand outstretched as if to grasp the hair of the preceding one.

A single sandal, in fragmentary condition (Fig. 21), was found to be similar in every respect to those secured at Canter's Caves and noted elsewhere in this report.

Most interesting, perhaps, of the objects secured



FIGURE 20. Sandstone Slab Bearing Pictographs—Found in Kettle Hill Cave.

from this shelter is a feather neck-piece, shown in Fig. 22. This interesting ornament, in a gratifying state of preservation, is made from feathers of the owl and the wild turkey, closely interwoven with bast fibers into a crescentic, gorget-like form, with double twisted cords

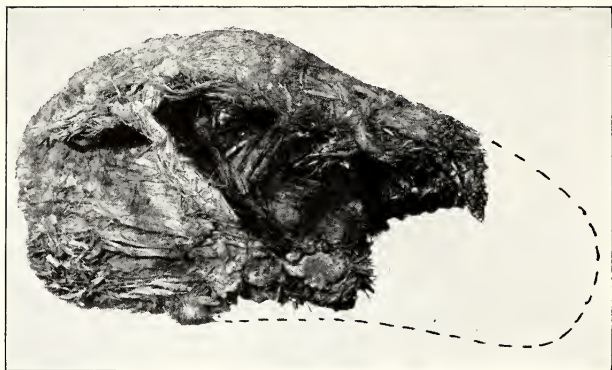


FIGURE 21. Sandal Woven from Bast Fiber—from Kettle Hill Cave.

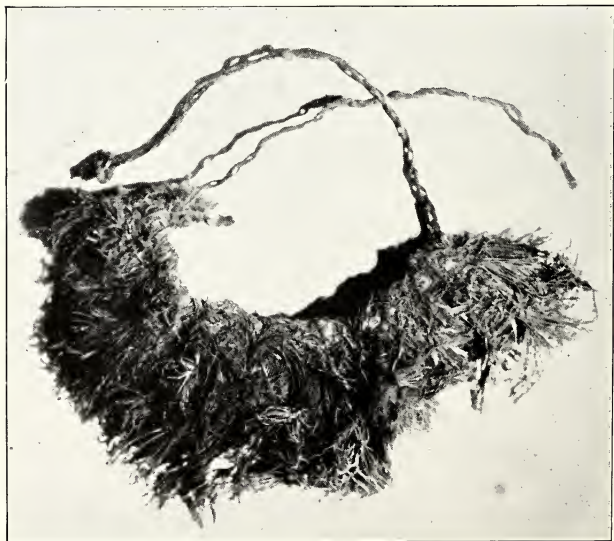


FIGURE 22. Feather Neck Ornament Found in Kettle Hill Cave.

at either end for fastening about the neck. The original sheen or lustre is still retained on one or two of the turkey feathers.

In Figure 23, left, are shown several objects of wood. At the extreme left is a five-inch section of a slender twig, about one end of which is a closely-knit covering of

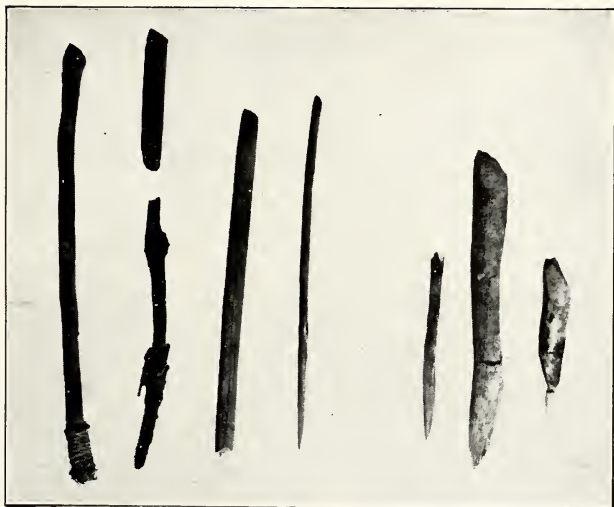


FIGURE 23. Objects of Wood and Bone from Kettle Hill Cave.

twined cord. Adjoining it in the photograph is a section of wild grape-vine, with one end wrapped in pliable leather and bearing a red pigment. This specimen suggests use as a paint-brush. Above this specimen and adjoining it are two sections of wooden arrow-shafts, and a wooden awl or needle. The three specimens to the right of the photograph are typical splint bone awls.

The faunal remains found in this shelter were those of the commoner animals and birds, with the wild turkey and the deer predominating, as at Canter's Caves. The mussels and fish were somewhat more in evidence than at the latter shelters.

Determination of vegetable remains and plant fibers, by Professor J. H. Schaffner, of Ohio State University, disclosed two interesting developments. While use of *Nolina* fibers, so much in evidence at Canter's Caves, seems to be absent, employment of *Asclepias incarnata* was much in evidence. In conjunction with a large mass of partially prepared fibers, consisting mainly of the Indian Hemp, was a fine pod and stem of the plant, which most readers will recognize as that of the slender, graceful Swamp Milkweed, sometimes called Indian Hemp (*Asclepias incarnata*), Fig 24. A second development was that of the determination of the fiber used in certain heavy rope-like braided cord (Fig. 25), as being that of the Rattlesnake Master (*Eryngium aquaticum* L.).

The commoner objects found in the debris of Kettle Hill Shelter, including flint arrow-points, potsherds, and so forth, were in every respect identical with those found at Canter's Caves, and by Professor Mills at the Boone and Buzzard Shelters, in Jackson County. It seems indubitable that for the most part the occupants of the rock-shelters of southern Ohio, in so far as examined, were the Algonquian tribesmen of pre-Columbian and proto-historic times. Evidences of intensive or remote occupancy are lacking, with the exception noted for Kettle Hill Cave, where early occupancy is indicated but unproved. In Jackson County, where the salt springs



FIGURE 24. Vegetable Fibers Partially prepared for Weaving—From Kettle Hill Cave.



FIGURE 25. Cord and Fabric from Kettle Hill Cave.

doubtless attracted all alike, the shelters bear some scant evidence, such as isolated potsherds, of the presence of the highly developed Hopewell Culture, and perhaps of still others as yet unidentified.



FIGURE 26. Fragments of Basketry and Twined Cord from Kettle Hill Cave.



THE QUAKERS, THEIR MIGRATION TO THE UPPER OHIO, THEIR CUSTOMS AND DISCIPLINE

BY H. E. SMITH, MARIETTA, OHIO

George Fox was the Father of the Quaker Meeting, sometimes called Friends' Meeting. He tells us that "Truth sprang up first (to us to be a people to the Lord) in Leicestershire, England, in 1644." He describes how "the movement first spread to the neighboring counties, then by 1654 over England, Scotland and Ireland; in 1655 many went beyond the seas and in 1656 Truth broke forth in America."

In a General Epistle dated 1660, Germany, America, Virginia and many other places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam and Newfoundland are mentioned as having been visited by Friends.

In all the work of the Meetings, women have shared an equal responsibility with the men. One of Fox's earliest followers was Margaret Fell, then the wife of Judge Fell of Swarthmore, who, on the death of the Judge, became the wife of George Fox. She was a woman of position and wealth, and she used both to advance the teachings of Fox. Swarthmore Hall, the home of the Fells, who with the Kirbys, were Lords of the Manor of Ulverston, became a center for the going and coming of Quaker preachers to all parts of the world and Margaret Fell, assisted by her daughters, Sarah and Rachel, was truly the Mother in Israel to the new faith.

At the beginning, Fox and his followers did not have in mind the establishment of a new church, but as he began to speak to the people, directing them "to the Divine Light of Christ and His Spirit in their hearts, by which Light they might see their sins and by which Light they might also see their Saviour, Jesus Christ, to save them from their sins," he found that many came to hear him who had, in their own meditations, known of the Inner Light, and who, when called together by Fox, found themselves in unity with him, and an organization was unconsciously begun. They first called themselves "Children of the Light," then the "Friends of Truth," then the "Religious Society of Friends." George Fox says: "In 1650, we were first called Quakers by Justice Bennett, because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord."

Fox lived long enough to see the Quakers become an active factor in the religious life not only in England, Germany, Holland, and Ireland, but also across the seas in America. On his return from a trip which took him into Jamaica, Maryland, New England, Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the Carolinas, in a Manuscript Journal of his American Journey, Fox estimates that he traveled 16,149 miles, from October, 1671, to May, 1673. Dr. R. M. Jones says: "When Fox sailed away for Bristol, he left behind him a strong group of Friends (Quakers), stretching, with some breaks, from the coast of New Hampshire to Albemarle Sound in the Carolinas, having accomplished a piece of labor which, so far as I know, no visitor to America in Colonial times paralleled."

For one hundred years, or until the Revolutionary



ANN TODD SMITH

Grandmother of the author and one of the early pioneers of Morgan County, who in 1835 came with her husband, William Smith, from Belmont County, Ohio. Her people had come from North Carolina to Belmont County about the year 1800.

War, Friends continued to increase in number, influence and power in America, reaching from Rhode Island to the Carolinas, with Pennsylvania in the center, the scene of Penn's Holy Experience. During this hundred years, a moving of the Quakers from the North toward the South was continually in progress. From far-away Nantucket, they came down through Pennsylvania and New Jersey, stopping awhile in Maryland, then went on into Virginia and, before the Revolutionary War was over, they had passed through the Carolinas into Georgia. Not all the Quakers moved South, but so many went that Stephen B. Weeks, in *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, says, "The influence of these new settlers was so distinct that I have ventured to call this movement the replanting of Southern Quakerism." The cause of this movement was threefold. In New England, especially in Nantucket, many had been forced to become fishermen. The whaling industry was waning and they had to seek new homes. The Southland beckoned them. Second, the Quaker's attitude toward war, both in the Indian wars and the Revolutionary War, caused suspicion concerning many of his actions and no doubt many unpleasant affairs occurred, especially around Philadelphia and New York, so their families became dissatisfied and wanted to seek new surroundings. Third, the Quakers were primarily farmers. In the South was plenty of land which was purchased by them and converted into large plantations. Favorable reports of the country went back to the North and others were urged to follow until the Quakers were in the majority in many parts of Virginia, North and South Carolina and northern Georgia.

At the time of the immigration of the Quakers to the southern country, slavery existed in the North as well as the South and it would not, at that time, impress them that they were settling in a slaveholding country; but the feeling toward holding slaves in the North changed very rapidly and the Mason and Dixon's line, together with the Ohio River, soon became the boundary between the slave and free states.

The Southern Quakers found themselves in a strange and unpleasant position. Their teachings opposed slavery and their brethren in the North were continually admonishing them concerning their treatment of the black man. They first raised their voices against the buying and selling of slaves. This was made a disownable act in Virginia as early as 1772; then they gave their attention to the bodily comfort of their slaves, also encouraging them to read and write, and following close upon these reforms was the movement for Emancipation and Colonization.

At a Monthly Meeting held at South River, Virginia, on the 20th day of the Ninth month, 1777, the Meeting appointed William Johnson and Christopher Anthony "to assist those Friends appointed to labor with such Friends as still hold their negroes in bondage, to convince them, if possible, of the evil of that practice and its inconsistency with our Christian profession."

It was again ordered in 1780 that those who continued to hold their fellow creatures in bondage were to be particularly visited and labored with.

In 1788, it was inserted in the discipline "that none among us be concerned in importing, buying, selling,

holding, or overseeing slaves, and that all bear a faithful testimony against the practice.”

Thus it is seen that at the close of the century, the Virginia Quakers had practically freed themselves from slavery, yet it is evident that they were not satisfied with their surroundings and that they would embrace an opportunity to seek new homes.



NEW GARDEN MEETING-HOUSE—NORTH CAROLINA.

Occupied from 1785 to about 1820, when a new brick Meeting-house was built.

The Carolina Quakers were not only in accord with their Virginia brethren in their desire for the black man's freedom, but they went farther in that they desired him to be secure and protected after he became free. This aggressiveness on the part of North Carolina brought about enactments of certain laws by the Assembly of 1796, that were aimed directly at the Quakers. For example, "No slave shall be set free in any

case or under any pretense whatever, except for meritorious service, to be adjudged of and allowed by the County Court and license first had and obtained therefor."

This law brought out the true spirit of the sect, the church itself became a slaveholder, or in other words, the church would appoint a committee, who had power to receive slaves from masters who wished to free them; thus the Quaker was released from being a slaveholder and the slave was virtually free. It can be easily seen that manumission and colonization societies would soon follow and successful colonies were founded in Haiti and Liberia.

Those conflicts between the state and the church could only cause an uneasiness among the Quakers and, as in Virginia, those in the Carolinas also were ready to look for new homes.

Away to the northward beyond the mountains and beyond the Ohio River, was a new country, rich in all the natural resources, suitable to the crops that their forefathers cultivated in Pennsylvania, and above all, the Great Ordinance, that created the Northwest Territory, guaranteed that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, was ever to be permitted in any of this territory.

As early as 1782, two Monthly Meetings had been established in southwestern Pennsylvania near the Monongahela River, one called Westland and the other Redstone. These Meetings were the stepping-stones to the Northwest for the Quaker of the South.

In the eastern central part of North Carolina was a Quarterly Meeting, known as Contentnea. One of its

branches was Coresound Monthly Meeting, in Carteret County. The propriety of removing to the west had been seriously considered and finally two of its members were deputed to go and visit the new country and report their judgment. They were Joseph Dew and Horton Howard. Trent Monthly Meeting, in Jones County, also sent a representative, Aaron Brown. These men traveled with duly accredited minutes. The following is evidence that they crossed the mountains safely:

At Westland Monthly Meeting of Friends, twenty-second of Sixth Month, 1799.

Our esteemed Friends, Joseph Dew and Horton Howard, attended this meeting and produced certificates from a Monthly Meeting at Coresound, in Carteret County, North Carolina, expressive of Friends' unity with their viewing this part of the country and other parts adjacent, with a prospect of removing and settling within the verge of this, if way should open, and our friend, Aaron Brown, also attended and produced an extract from the minutes of a Monthly Meeting on Trent River, Jones Country, North Carolina, expressive of their unity and concurrence with his accompanying our aforesaid Friends, whose company, exemplary deportment and cautious proceeding, in so weighty a matter as they are engaged in, obtained our approbation and is satisfactory to us, and the religious labors of Joseph Dew, who is certified to be an approved minister, have been acceptable and edifying.

Joseph Dew, Horton Howard and Aaron Brown were men of vision. They undoubtedly extended their investigation beyond the Ohio River, but as their report was a verbal one, we know only its reaction. Coresound Monthly Meeting started a stream of families to the northwest. Aaron Brown's report was such that certificates of removal, addressed to Westland, were granted to all its members, after which the Meeting was duly closed and all the records, etc., returned to the

Quarterly Meeting, with information that there was no more a Trent Quarterly Meeting. It was in the first month of the year 1800, that this body of men, women and children started for their new home to the northward, taking with them horses, cattle, bedding, and such household furnishings as could be hauled on roads through the wilderness over plains, valleys and mountains. After five months, we hear from them from the minutes of the Westland Monthly Meeting, Sixth Month, 1800:

This Meeting is in receipt of extracts from the minutes and proceedings of a Monthly Meeting on Trent River, in Jones County, North Carolina, telling of the exercises of Friends of that meeting which resulted in that meeting, almost in a body, concluding to issue certificates to nearly all its members, and surrendering their privileges of holding meeting, to Contentnea Quarterly Meeting, and as many of these aforesaid Friends and their families (and several from the Monthly Meeting of Core-sound, in Carteret County, North Carolina), have arrived and are now as sojourners in the vicinity of this meeting, and being a subject of such magnitude and importance, this meeting appointed David Greave (and eleven others) to confer with them, give such advice and assistance as may be necessary to procure a settlement for Friends in the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River and report to our next meeting.

After resting in the vicinity of Westland and Redstone, Pennsylvania, for several months, this company moved on across the Ohio River, just north of Wheeling, into the Northwest Territory, the Ninth month, 1800, three years before Ohio became a State. Six miles up a small stream that empties into the Ohio River at Bridgeport, they spent their first First-Day—not having omitted their meeting for worship on this day—upon a log they held the first Quaker Meeting ever held in the Northwest Territory. Afterwards they held it in the



SAMUEL AND ADA PEARSON LEWIS

Pennsylvania Quakers, who emigrated to Harrison County, Ohio, about 1810. Samuel Lewis was a brother-in-law of Benjamin Lundy, and with him was engaged in anti-slavery movements. He was a member of Hicksite Branch of the Quaker Meeting. Their last years were spent at Chesterhill, Morgan County, Ohio. They were the grandparents of the author.

newly-built cabin of Jonathan Taylor, and later built a new log meeting-house and called it "Concord." To-day, near this site, is a Quaker Meeting-house, holding regular meetings in the village, now called Colerain, on the highway between Wheeling and Cadiz. By the close of the year 1800, it is said that more than eight hundred Friends had moved into the Ohio Country.

Borden Stanton, one of the leaders of the new settlement, in answering an inquiry from Friends at Wrightsborough, Georgia, writes the following letter:

Concord, Ohio.

Twenty-fifth of Fifth Month, 1802.

Dear Friends:

Having understood by William Patten and William Hogan, from your parts, that a number among you have had some thoughts and turnings of mind respecting a removal to this country . . . and . . . as it has been the lot of a number of us to undertake the work a little before you, I thought, (to give) a true statement (for your information) of some of our strugglings and reasonings concerning the propriety of our moving . . .

I may begin thus and say that for several years Friends have had some distant view of moving out of that oppressive part of the land, but did not know where until the year 1799, when we had an acceptable visit from some traveling Friends from the western part of Pennsylvania. They thought proper to propose to Friends for consideration, whether it would not be agreeable to best wisdom for us unitedly to remove northwest of the Ohio River — to a place where there were no slaves held, being a free country. This proposal made a deep impression on our minds.

Nevertheless, although we had a prospect of something of the kind, it was at first very crossing to my natural inclination, being well settled as to the outward. So, I strove against the thoughts for a considerable time . . . as it seemed likely to break up our Monthly Meeting, which I had reason to believe was set up in the wisdom of Truth. Thus I was concerned many times to weigh the matter in the balance of the sanctuary; till at length I considered that there was no prospect of our number being

increased by conviction, on account of the oppression that abounds in the land.

Under a view of these things, I was made sensible beyond doubting, that it was in the ordering of Wisdom for us to remove; and that the Lord was opening a way for our enlargement, if found worthy. Friends generally feeling something of the same, there were three of them who went to view the country, and one worthy public Friend. They traveled on till they came to this part of the western country, where they were stopped in their minds, believing it was the place for Friends to settle. So they



ELISHA AND SALLY TODD

These people participated in the three emigrations. Their parents came from North Carolina, about 1800, to Belmont, O. They with other emigrants went into Morgan county in 1835, which community they left in 1855 to join the emigration of many Quakers into Iowa, near West Branch.

turned back and informed us of the same in a solemn meeting; in which dear Joseph Dew, the public Friend, intimated that he saw the seed of God sown in abundance, which extended far north-westward. This information, in the way it was delivered to us much tendered our spirits, and strengthened us in the belief that it was right. So we undertook the work, and found the Lord to be a present helper in every needful time. . . .

Such reports from the new country not only brought many families from the South, but others came directly west from the Jerseys and Pennsylvania and helped to increase the numbers until, by the year 1826, more than eight thousand

Quakers were peacefully settled among the limestone hills of Belmont, Jefferson, Harrison and Columbiana

Counties, in Ohio, where they established a civilization unsurpassed in the United States.*

Another slight wave of immigration occurred about 1835-1840, due to the desire of some who had large families again to secure land for their children. When the National Road was completed from Wheeling to Columbus, it passed through the Quaker Country at St. Clairsville. Farm land advanced in price, and the sale of an acre there would buy ten acres down in southern Morgan and western Washington Counties. Yet it was

* In his *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, Stephen B. Weeks thus describes the routes by which Quakers came from the south to Ohio and what was then generally known as the West:

The great road to follow the western migration was the Cumberland or National Road. It extended from Cumberland, Maryland, through Wheeling, Virginia,* across the Ohio River into Ohio and Indiana. It was begun in 1806; was completed to Wheeling in 1821; reached Columbus in 1827 and Indianapolis in 1830. With this road completed, Friends of Virginia and the Middle States found traveling much easier than in earlier days, but Friends have always shown a defiant enthusiasm in overcoming difficulties.

It does not appear that this route was used much by emigrants from North Carolina. There were several routes for parties removing from central North Carolina, and many Friends who proposed going west from eastern North Carolina first went up into the central part of the State.

1. One route was by what was known as the Kanawha road. This led through a rough, mountainous country for most of the way. "Crossing Dan River, it led by Patrick C. H., Virginia, to Marberry's Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains, thence across Clinch Mountain, by way of Pack's Ferry on New River, thence over White Oak Mountain to the falls of the Kanawha, and down that river to the Ohio, crossing at Gallipolis."

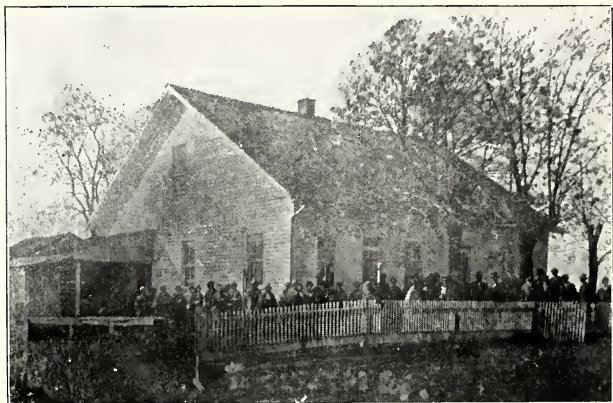
2. Another route was known as the Kentucky road. By this road the traveler crossed the Blue Ridge at Ward's Gap, crossed New River near Wythe C. H., Virginia, thence by way of Abingdon, thence through Cumberland Gap, and through Kentucky to Cincinnati.

3. A third route was by way of Poplar Camp and Flour Gap; through Brownsville and Lexington, Kentucky, and across the Ohio at Cincinnati, Lawrenceburg or Madison. This route was very rough.

4. The fourth was known as the Magadec route and lay over the Virginia turnpike, which had been built from Richmond to the Ohio at the mouth of the Kanawha. This was a favorite route from 1810 until the age of railroads. Emigrants from the eastern part of North Carolina would sometimes go to Richmond direct, while others would strike the pike at Lynchburg or Fincastle, while still others from Carolina would turn off the pike at Lewisburg, go by another pike route to Wheeling and cross the Ohio there. It is said that as many went by this route as by all the other routes.

* Wheeling was then in Virginia; West Virginia was not made a state until in 1863.

the same limestone land, covered with hard wood and, when cleared, would produce the same crops as that in Belmont County, and many families sold their farms and moved by wagons across the county to new homes. Twenty years saw their new settlement, with Pennsville, Chesterhill and Plymouth as centers, as prosperous as the hills of Belmont; in fact, the meetings, schools



Kindness of Carl Patterson.

CHESTERHILL FRIENDS MEETING-HOUSE
At Chesterhill, Ohio. From Photograph taken in 1884

and social life of these Quakers saw their second transplanting.

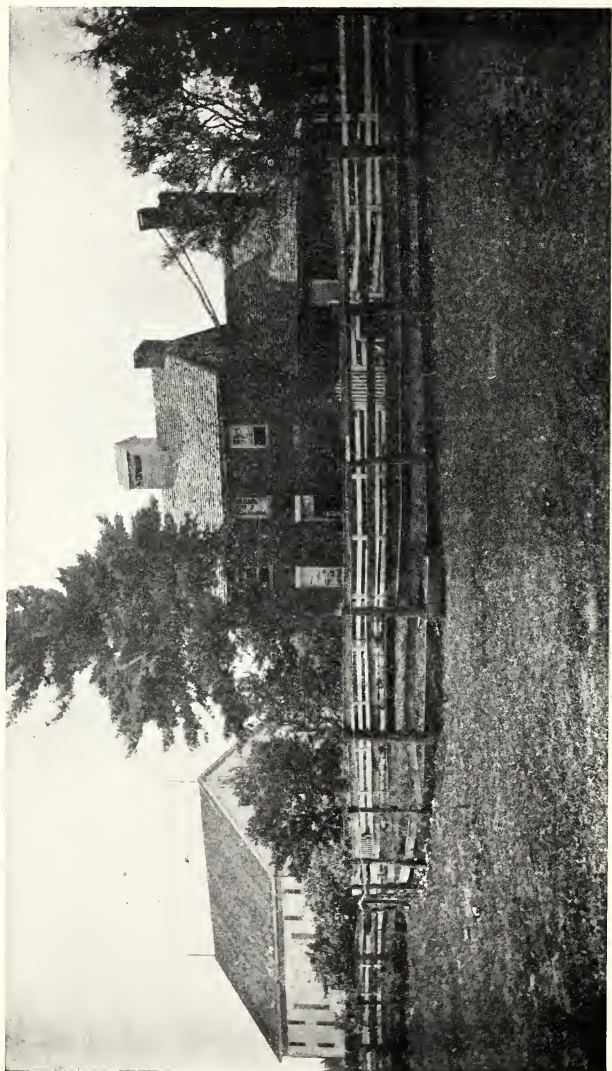
Here, until after the Civil War, their organization, their meetings, and their schools were maintained. At present, one meeting, only, at Chesterhill, remains, but twice a week, on Fifth-Day and First-Day, they come together, just as in the time of George Fox, for their business and worship.

From these Quaker communities, their descendants have gone forth into every State. No longer can the historian follow them as a horde advancing into a new country, but only as individuals; but, as individuals, they ever cherish the belief of the Universal Inner Light, which will be sufficient unto the Great Day.

ZACHARIAH DICKS AND QUAKER MIGRATION TO SOUTHWESTERN OHIO

In an address at Waynesville, Ohio, on the occasion of the Ter-centenary of the birth of George Fox, C. B. Galbreath spoke of the prophecy of Zachariah Dicks and the growth of Quakerism in southwestern Ohio as follows:

The migration to Ohio seems to have had, in addition to the pioneer instinct shared by the Quakers and their opposition to the institution of slavery, another impelling force. Perhaps there is no time limit to the prophecy recorded in Holy Writ: "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." In the Carolinas and Georgia there arose a Quaker preacher who certainly saw visions and who appealed to Friends with prophetic power. His name was Zachariah Dicks. He was born in Pennsylvania and went to North Carolina about the year 1754. He was, therefore, not a young man when he preached with remarkable power to the Quakers of the Southland. He visited Wrightsborough, Georgia, and Bush River, South Carolina, in 1803, and urged Friends to leave their homes. He prophesied "an internecine war within the lives of the children then living." Bloodshed and destruction were to follow. The cause of this devastating warfare, which he foretold in vivid language, was slavery. The Friends at Bush River had erected, a short time previously, a commodious and substantial meeting-house which they had expected to occupy for many years. To the number of 500, they had frequently assembled there for worship. On one occasion, when they had gathered there, Dicks concluded a stirring appeal with the words, "Oh, Bush River! Bush River, how hath thy beauty faded away and gloomy darkness eclipsed thy day." He traveled southward repeating his startling prophecy to Friends



RESIDENCE OF JOHN AND ANNA BUNDY

Belmont County Quakers whose parents emigrated from North Carolina. This home — a type of a Quaker homestead — was built about 1825 and photographed in 1884.

who heard with alarm. The result is a tribute to his power of prophetic appeal. In 1800, the Quakers had become well established in South Carolina and Georgia. It is recorded that they could have been numbered by thousands. By 1809, nearly all of them had departed for the West. They "sold their lands, worth from ten to twenty dollars an acre, for from three to six dollars, and departed never to return." They came in great numbers to this section of our state. Among those who are present today are certainly the descendants of many who heard it, for no less an authority than Stephen B. Weeks tells us that Friends by our family name came to eastern Ohio.

Many prophecies of the end of the world and other dire calamities have been unfulfilled and forgotten; but the prophecy of Zachariah Dicks had an awful fulfillment in the cataclysm of the Civil War, which our ancestors, who fled at the warning cry, and their descendants, did not wholly escape.

The history of pioneer Quakerism in southwestern Ohio has been written in interesting detail by Clarkson Butterworth, who presented it in the form of an address on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the Miami Monthly Meeting of Waynesville, Ohio, Tenth month, 16, 1903. From this valuable contribution it appears that the Miami Monthly Meeting began its organized existence on the "13th day of the Tenth month, 1803." In chronological order, Clarkson Butterworth has recorded the history of this meeting from 1803 to 1828. The history of Quakerism in this section of Ohio, from 1828 to 1903, was continued at the centennial in addresses by Eli Jay and Davis Furnas. These addresses are so complete that they leave little to be said on the history of the Society of Friends in this section of the state.

The address by Clarkson Butterworth, to which the above reference is made, is here quoted in part.

More than two and a half centuries ago, in England, the times were ripe for such a prophet and leader. Warring factions had long deluged the land with blood, and human life and comfort were little regarded. Whatever party chanced to be in the ascendant oppressed the others, and religious persecution and intolerance prevailed widely. Priest and ruler were self-seeking and profligate, and spiritual wickedness in high places was a reproach to the nation. Then the pure and innocent George Fox, by no means the least of the prophets, recognizing the

power and authority of the "Indwelling and Inspeaking Spirit of God," was impelled to proclaim it, and to call men and women into obedience to its monitions; and multitudes, tired of the insincerity and want of steadfastness which had been so nearly universal among the religious professors and teachers, were soon gathered into fellowship with the plain true man. They had seen how the high dignitaries of the church had joined in persecuting those differing from them in opinion, but as soon as the changing times put uppermost those of different views, made haste to save their profits and emoluments by change of religious pretensions; and the "common people" were glad to find something more stable, and consonant with the witness for truth within themselves. Many of them found like call to service with Fox, and, the soil being ready for the seed, went far and wide through the nation and into other dominions and the islands of the sea, and to the shores of America, spreading their perception of the truth, and teaching human equality, human rights, and human brotherhood.

They set up meetings for religious communion and worship and for the care of the church as there seemed need of them, in all countries where they obtained a foothold. Many migrated to these shores, meetings were set up along the seaboard, and later further inland, and the Friends and their simple democratic ways and views had a powerful influence in shaping the free institutions of this country and overthrowing human slavery therein.

In the latter part of the 18th century, two Monthly Meetings, Westland and Redstone, were established in southwestern Pennsylvania, and these united in composing Redstone Quarterly Meeting — all subordinate to Baltimore Yearly Meeting. About that time Friends in the slave states, not liking to rear and leave their families under the influence of the slave system, and hoping to better their material situation as well, began to migrate into the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River. Settlements were made in eastern Ohio, and in the neighborhood of Waynesville — the latter, at least, coming largely or entirely from the slave states — many from the Monthly Meeting of Bush River and Cane Creek in Newberry and Union Counties, South Carolina. Their settlement, in the Miami Country, was within the jurisdiction of Westland Monthly Meeting aforesaid. A little later, immigrants arrived from the eastern parts of Pennsylvania, and from the eastern seashore states, and elsewhere.

On Eleventh month, 20th, 1799, the families of Robert Kelly, Abijah O'Neill and James Mills, from Bush River Monthly Meeting, settled near the site of Waynesville. 4, 25, 1800, David Faulkner and David Painter arrived from Hopewell Monthly

Meeting, Frederick County, Virginia. George Haworth, David Holloway and Rowland Richards came the same year, and in that year Joseph Cloud (who later settled here himself), a minister from Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, North Carolina, came and held several meetings, among which are believed to have been the first Friends' Meetings held in the original limits of Miami Monthly Meeting, which embraced all the territory north of the Ohio River and west of the Hocking, extending indefinitely north and west.

Other Friends continued to arrive until 4, 26, 1801, when a number collected together in a volunteer Meeting for Worship, at the dwelling of Rowland and Lydia Richards, which the aged and intelligent Mary Bailey tells me was near the center of the block in Waynesville, bounded by North, Third, Miami and Fourth Streets, and long owned afterwards by Noah Haines and family—a part still owned by a granddaughter, Anna C. F. O'Neill, and a part by Eliza Haines, widow of Seth Silver Haines, youngest son of Noah. Twelve families were represented at the meeting, consisting of 24 parents and 47 children, all said to have been living within one mile of the meeting-place. The membership of many of these was, or soon came to be, certified to Westland Monthly Meeting aforesaid, about 300 miles away, but then the most suitable Monthly Meeting for the Friends of this settlement, who maintained their aforesaid volunteer Meeting for Worship during that summer, and in the following winter forwarded a request to that Monthly Meeting for a recognized meeting to be granted them, to be held on First-days and in the middle of the week; and 12, 26, 1801, that Monthly Meeting adopted the following minute:

A number of Friends being settled near the Little Miami, request has been made for the privilege of holding Meetings for Worship on First and Fifth-days of the week. After weighty deliberation, it appears to be the sense of this meeting that a committee be appointed to sit with them, inspect into their situation and judge of the propriety of granting their request. Jacob Griffith, Abram Smith, David Grave and Henry Mills are appointed to the service, to report when called on by this meeting.

The following minute of the same meeting bears date 9, 25, 1802.

The Representatives to the Quarterly Meeting [Redstone], report they all attended the same, and that that meeting united in leaving this at liberty to act in respect to the request of Friends near the Little Miami as way may open in the Truth. After diverse sentiments were expressed, it appeared the sense of Friends that the request be granted till otherwise directed. David Grave, Joseph Townsend, Abraham Smith and Henry

Lewis are appointed to write to the Friends there on the occasion and forward the substance of this minute when opportunity offers.

It seems there were no reliable mails, and private conveyance had to be awaited.

The meeting was set up accordingly, and appears to have used, for a meeting-house, a log building which had been erected for a dwelling by Ezekiel Cleaver, maternal grandfather of late Empson Rogers. It stood on the northeast corner of Third and Miami Streets, at or near the site of the present residence of Adam Stoops. The logs for its construction were drawn together with oxen by William O'Neill — then nine years of age — son of Abijah and Anna (Kelly) O'Neill, and father of George and the late Abijah P. O'Neill.

The first marriage among the Friends here was that of William Mills, son of James, to Mary, daughter of Rowland and Lydia Richards, which was solemnized by a Baptist minister, a method of marriage at that time resorted to with the consent of Friends concerned because the Monthly Meeting which might have been consulted, was so far out of reach. They became the parents of ten children, of whom Elizabeth, the oldest, was born 10, 4, 1803.

The first Friends' Meeting-House, built for that purpose at Waynesville, was on the southwest corner of Fourth and High Streets, at or very near the site of the present Meeting-House of Orthodox Friends. It was probably erected after Miami Monthly Meeting was established — say in 1803 or 1804 — and was a log structure. I am inclined to the opinion that it was succeeded by a larger and better one of the same material before Friends built their large brick meeting-house in 1811 — the same in which we are holding these centennial exercises — on the West side of Fourth Street, between High and Miami.

Much of the foregoing matter about Friends' settlements and early meetings in these regions, I have derived from an unsigned but reliable publication, dated 2, 19, 1863, put forth by the late Achilles Pugh, an Orthodox Friend who had lived quite a while in Waynesville, and was an intelligent and capable man.

The Meeting for Worship aforesaid, authorized by Westland Monthly Meeting and Redstone Quarterly Meeting, was of the class called Indulged Meetings, and was held on trial, so to speak.

By the forepart of 1803, the Friends, settled about Waynesville and neighboring regions, had become quite numerous. Many of them were, or soon became, members of Westland Monthly Meeting by certificates from elsewhere. I have already given the names of some of the earliest. Repeating some of them, I

now give the following nearly full list of all families, and individuals who were parts of families, and some not in families, who had arrived before 10, 13, 1803. First—some who were certified to Westland Monthly Meeting by Bush River Monthly Meeting, South Carolina, 9, 25, 1802, viz.:

Abijah and Anna (Kelly) O'Neill and children.....	9	persons
Samuel and Hannah (Pearson) Kelly and children... ..	8	persons
James and Lydia (Jay) Mills and children.....	10	persons
Robert and Sarah (Patty) Kelly and children.....	6(?)	persons
Mary (Jay) Patty, wife of Charles Patty.....	1	person
Layton and Elizabeth (Mills) Jay and children.....	8	persons
Anna Horner, wife of Thomas Horner.....	1	person
Ellis Pugh and Phebe, his wife.....	2	persons

This partial list.....45(?) persons

From Cane Creek, South Carolina, Monthly Meeting at dates prefixed:

- 12, 19, 1803—Amos and Elizabeth (Townsend) Cook, and family.
- 12, 19, 1803—Levi and Ann (Frazier) Cook, and family.
- 4, 23, 1803—Esther Campbell, Naomi Spray.
- 4, 23, 1803—Samuel and Mary (Wilson) Spray, and family.
- 4, 23, 1803—Robert and Hannah (Wilson) Furnas, and family.
- 5, 21, 1803—Dinah (Cook) Wilson.
- 5, 21, 1803—Jehu and Sarah (Hawkins) Wilson, and family.
- 5, 21, 1803—Christopher and Mary (Cox) Wilson, and family.
- 5, 21, 1803—Thomas and Tamar Cox.

This partial list contained about 40 persons.

Other names—

- Ezekiel and Abigail Cleaver and family.
- Samuel Linton and five children—Nathan, David, James, Elizabeth (Linton) Satterthwaite, Jane (Linton) Arnold.
- Edward and Margaret Kindley and family.
- John Mullin and family.

Benjamin and Hannah Evans and family. [This family, though settled here before the date 10, 13, 1803, produced to Miami Monthly Meeting in 6th Month, 1804, a certificate from Bush River Monthly Meeting. No doubt there were numerous other Friends settled in this corner of Ohio before the opening of Miami Monthly Meeting, who brought certificates to it later, and yet others whom I have failed to mention, who had been certified to Westland Monthly Meeting.] I would guess the total number of members in this partial list, named and unnamed, was not less than 75, making a total of fully 160.

By this time, these felt the need of further meeting privileges, and about Sixth month, 1803, or earlier, through Westland Monthly Meeting, they asked of Redstone Quarterly Meeting the *establishment* of their Meeting for Friendship and the grant of a Preparative Meeting and a Monthly Meeting. Thereupon, said Quarterly Meeting directed a committee to sit with them and report their judgment in the matter, and at the Quarterly Meeting held at Westland, 9, 5, 1803, granted the request as the following minutes indicate.

1st. The Committee (excepting one) having sat with Friends near Little Miami, report that after weightily conferring together, did believe that it might be right to grant their request — Meeting for Worship to be held on First and Fifth-days; Monthly Meeting on the second Fifth-day in each month; and the Preparative Meeting on the day preceding, to be called Miami Monthly Meeting, which the Quarterly Meeting unites with and appoints Thomas Grisell, Mahlon Linton, Samuel Cope, Enoch Chandler, Jonathan Taylor and Horton Howard to attend the opening of said meetings at the time proposed in next month, and confer with Friends and report where they may think most suitable for the boundary of said meeting to be.

2nd. At Miami Monthly Meeting, held the 13th day of the Tenth month, 1803, part of the Quarterly Meeting committee was present. A copy of a minute of Westland Monthly Meeting was produced to this meeting, appointing David Faulkner and Samuel Kelly to serve in the station of Overseers of Miami Particular Meeting — [that is, of Miami Meeting for Worship]. The extracts [from the minutes] of our late Yearly Meeting [Baltimore] were produced and read. Our Friend, Ann Taylor, produced a certificate to this meeting, dated 17th day of Ninth month, 1803, expressive of the unity of Concord Monthly Meeting with her visiting Friends about the Miamis, whose service among us has been acceptable. The meeting concludes.

The first minute quoted above is a copy of a minute of Redstone Quarterly Meeting, entered in Miami Monthly Meeting book in advance of its opening minute, and the further quotations are the full minutes of the first sitting of Miami Monthly Meeting itself — men's department. They do not show who served as clerk that day. This was a common omission in many Monthly Meetings. The Concord Monthly Meeting which had liberated Ann Taylor for religious labor here, was a new one in eastern Ohio, founded in 1801, and still maintained.

THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION.

The Church Organization of the Orthodox Friends' Meeting is simple but very effective, reaching every family and all members of the family, and the fact that

women have always been recognized on an equality with the men in their meetings, has been a source of strength to the Society. Children become members by birth-right when both the parents are in good standing in Meeting at the time of their birth; no further action is necessary on their part other than a life in unison with the principles of Friends.

Membership may be secured by application and acceptance, but the applicant will not be accepted into membership without the united judgment of men and women's Meetings and not until the case has been before both Preparative and Monthly Meetings. But in all cases, Friends are exhorted to attend carefully to the advice of the Apostle, "Lay hands suddenly on no man."

The parent body of the Society is the Yearly Meeting. Reporting to the Yearly Meeting, are the Meetings for Suffering, Quarterly Meeting, Monthly Meeting and Preparative Meeting. Wherever a number of Friends may have their abode, they can meet together and, by consent of the nearest Monthly and Quarterly Meeting, establish a Preparative Meeting. A meeting-house may then be constructed, and all Quaker meeting-houses are on the same plan, whether they be large or small, for a Preparative Meeting or a Yearly Meeting. A raised platform called the "Gallery" is at one end, separated by an aisle or walk from the main room. In the middle of the room, the long way, are folding partitions which separate the men and women, in other words, there is a man's side and a woman's side in every Quaker Meeting-house, with an entrance and exit for each. During a public Meeting, the folding partitions are open, but dur-

ing a business Meeting they are closed, the men holding a Meeting on one side and the women on the other.

Those sitting in the gallery, or facing the meeting, are the ministers, elders, overseers and some of the older or concerned Friends.

The First-Day Meeting is for worship only, either in a silent meeting, as it is believed that the "Inner Light" is nourished and replenished in meditation; or some member may be moved to speak. Usually the speaking is done by the same man or woman who in time becomes known as the Quaker Preacher, but who is never employed and receives no pay for his services or any emolument of office.

Mid-week meetings are held either on Fourth- or Fifth-days, varying in different neighborhoods. But one mid-week meeting a month is a "Preparative Meeting." This Meeting is not a Meeting of record. That is, while minutes are made, there are no permanent records kept of the business before that Meeting. As a rule, there is but little discussion in a business meeting. Questions of importance are brought to the attention of the Preparative Meeting, but there is no decision reached or discussion had, and the matter is simply referred to the Monthly Meeting for action. If, from the nature of the business, a judgment is expected to be reached in that meeting, it is done with but little discussion, as members have had ten days or a week at least, to think it over, confer, and deliberate. Or, if it is something that apparently demands discussion, a committee is named who discuss, deliberate and report their judgment which is almost always accepted by the Meeting.

The Monthly Meeting, as its name implies, is held

following a certain mid-week Meeting and is the real executive body of the district. One of the duties of the Monthly Meeting is to appoint overseers from and for each Preparative Meeting, "whose duty it is to exercise a vigilant and tender care over their members." Should any affair reported by the overseer fail to reach a satis-

factory solution in the Preparative Meeting, the same can then be reported to the Monthly Meeting.

The Meeting for Sufferings, called such because, in the beginning, its chief business was to attend to the sufferings of Friends who were the objects of persecution on account of their belief, met, in the beginning, every week. Now it meets regularly twice in the year, and frequently several other times on its own adjournment or on call. During the World War, it, or some of its committees,



AMY (HODGIN) CLENDENON

Born in Savannah, Georgia, in 1800; emigrated with her parents from Georgia to Belmont County, Ohio, in 1803. Died in Coal Creek, Iowa, in 1868. She was a sister of Mary (Hodgin) Stanton.

were in almost continual session. The examination of documents, and care extended to legislation and public officials is now its chief business. It also looks after the property and bequests.

It is under the direction of the Monthly Meeting that all Quaker weddings are solemnized, and for the ac-

complishment of marriage, the following order is observed as directed by the Friend's Book of Discipline:

For the accomplishment of marriages the following order is to be observed: The parties are to inform the men's and women's Monthly Meeting, in writing, under their hands, that they intend marriage with each other. The notice should be minuted in each meeting, and two women Friends are to be appointed to make inquiry respecting the woman, and, if the parties are both members of the same Meeting, two men Friends should also be appointed to make inquiry respecting the clearness of the man in regard to other marriage engagements. If the parties have parents or guardians present, their consent should be expressed; or if the man be a member of another Monthly Meeting, the consent of his parents, if he has any, should be produced in writing, either then or at the next Meeting, with a certificate from his Monthly Meeting of his clearness from other like engagements. If the woman be a widow, having children, two or more Friends should be appointed in the meeting of which she is a member, to see that the rights of her children be legally secured.

At the next meeting, if the committees report that careful inquiry has been made, and no obstructions to the further proceedings appear, the parties are to inform the Meeting, either orally or in writing, of the continuance of their intentions of marriage with each other. The Meetings are then to leave them at liberty to accomplish their marriage according to our rules, and appoint two Friends of each sex to attend, and see that good order is observed at the marriage and place of entertainment. Marriages are to be solemnized at the usual week-day Meeting or at a Meeting appointed at some seasonable hour in the forenoon, on some other convenient week-day, and at the Meeting to which the woman belongs, previous notice to Friends generally, in the latter case, being given.



TYPE OF BONNET WORN BY MARY (HODGIN) STANTON



HAT WORN BY JOSEPH STANTON ABOUT 1858
Typical of the hats worn by the older Friends of that period.

Toward the conclusion of said Meeting, the parties are to stand up and taking each other by the hand, are to declare, in an audible and solemn manner, to the following effect, the man first, viz.: "Friends, in the presence of the Lord, and before this assembly, I take this, my friend, D. E., to be my wife; promising, with Divine assistance to be unto her a loving and faithful husband, until death shall separate us"; and then, the woman, in like manner: "Friends, in the presence of the Lord, and before this assembly, I take this, my friend, A. B., to be my husband; promising with Divine assistance, to be unto him a loving and faithful wife, until death shall separate us."

The marriage certificate is then to be signed, by the man first, then by the woman, with the adopted name of her husband. It is then to be audibly read by some proper person. The certificate is also to be signed at a suitable time, by witnesses of the marriage, usually by the relatives first, and by such other persons present as may desire to subscribe their names, and care is taken that a certificate of the proceedings be filed with public authorities, according to law.

The same relations exist between the Quarterly Meetings and the Yearly Meetings as exists between the Preparative and Monthly Meetings and each sit at times as indicated by their names.

The Preparative and Monthly Meetings are held in the same meeting-house, the Quarterly alternates from one to another, but the Ohio Yearly Meeting is always held at Stillwater Meeting-House, one mile east of Barnesville, Ohio, beginning the second Seventh-day of

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Whereas Joseph Stanton of Belmont County, Ohio, Son of Ebenezer Stanton of the County of Franklin and State of Ohio; and Maria Hodgkin, daughter of Stephen Hodgkin of the County and State of Vermont, and Elizabeth his wife, having declared their intentions of marriage with each other, before a monthly meeting of the religious Society of Friends, held at Milwauke, and having consent of Parents, their said proposals of marriage were allowed by said meeting. There are to certify herein that for the public confirmation of their said intentions, this 26th day of the ninth month in the sixth year of the said 1832, that the said Joseph Stanton, and Mary Hodgkin appeared in a public meeting, the said meeting held at Milwauke aforesaid; and the said Joseph Stanton, taking the said Mary Hodgkin by the hand, declared that he took her the said Mary Hodgkin to be his wife, promising, with divine assistance, to be unto her a loving and faithful husband until death should separate them; and the said Mary Hodgkin did in like manner declare that she took the said Joseph Stanton to be her husband, promising, with divine assistance to be unto him a loving and faithful wife until death should separate them.

And moreover, they the said Joseph Stanton and Mary Hodgkin, did as a further confirmation thereof, then and there, to these presents set their hands. Joseph Stanton
 and we whose names are hereunto subscribed, being Mary Stanton

Witness of the solemnization of said marriage, have as witnesses
 shak'd our hands the day and day above writing.

William Green	Edith Schofield	Joseph	Kenneth Stanton
James Jones	James Gibson	Mary High	Stephen Stanton
James Patterson	Samuel Dorrance	Barth Bailey	Elizabeth Hodgkin
Theresa H. Hain	Sarah Hoffman	Robert Whitcomb	Eliza Stanton
William Harrison	Rachel Fager	Sarah Ann Clarkson	Wm. Bailey
William Cotton	Alena Williams	Henry Vandergren	Eliz. Stanton
	Henry Thompson	Robert Todd	Mary Hodgkin
	John Hamilton	Eliza Vandergren	Stephen Hodgkin
	Samuel Smith	Sarah Clarkson	Isaac Foxcroft
		Mary Hancock	Isaac Hancock
		Sarah Swanson	Anna Stanton
		Sarah Patton	Emerson Stanton
			James Stanton

QUAKER MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE

Reproduction of the Marriage Certificate of Joseph and Mary (Hodgkin) Stanton. Married 9, 26, 1832. This Quaker couple raised a family and spent their entire married life in Belmont County, Ohio.



THE OLD STILLWATER MEETING-HOUSE

Near Barnesville, Ohio. From a restoration drawn by William M. Stanton in 1921 from descriptions and data furnished him. The building was thirty-four feet by ninety-seven feet and had a twelve-foot story. It was built in 1811-1812 and lengthened in 1823-1824. The structure was torn down in 1878 and the larger Meeting-House was built on the same site.

the Ninth month, extending over one First-Day, which is the public day.

Due to the fact that many far-reaching actions of the Friends' Meetings are not recordable papers, the Discipline recites:



STILLWATER MEETING-HOUSE—EAST SIDE

This Meeting-House was built in 1878 to replace the old structure erected in 1811-1812. See illustration on page 63.

RECORDS OF MEMBERSHIP.

As great inconveniences may arise from want of due attention to keeping a regular record of births, deaths and other changes in membership, it is enjoined upon each Monthly Meeting to appoint a careful Friend whose duty it shall be to keep in a bound book, provided for the purpose, a chronological record of each change in membership, showing in the order of their occurrence, the births, deaths, marriages, removals, disownments and memberships by request. In addition to this, a loose-leaf record of each individual member is to be kept, arranged in a binder in alphabetical order as follows:

Name of Member			
Place of Birth	Day	Month	Year
Name of Father			
Name of Mother Before Marriage			
Became Member by Birth—Certificate from			
—Request	Day	Month	Year
Married to	Day	Month	Year
Removal Certificate — to Death			
—Disownment	Day	Month	Year
Where Buried			
Late Residence			
Any additional information on back of sheet.			



MOUNT PLEASANT YEARLY MEETING-HOUSE

Located at Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County, Ohio. Built in 1815-1816.
It is 62 by 90 feet.

Monthly Meetings are further enjoined that committees be appointed annually to examine the records and to extend such care as may appear necessary to effect the object.

This completeness of records makes it possible to know of the activities of all the societies, in every part of the world, since the time that George Fox interrupted



MAP OF MEETINGS COMPOSING OHIO YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS IN 1826

The original of this map was made by Mary Walker, afterward Mary Brown, at Salem School, Salem, Ohio, in 1826. After the death of Mary Brown it passed into the possession of Charles Cope of Winona, Ohio, who framed it under glass and thus preserved it. The map here presented is a faithful copy of the essential details of the original with a few additions in the limits of Pennsville Quarter. Drawing by George A. Patterson.

Cleveland, New Philadelphia, Zanesville and Marietta, shown on the map above, are cities—not Quaker Meetings—and are used only to furnish approximate locations

the Presbyterian minister in the Church at Nottingham, England, in the year 1649, when he said, "No, it is not the Scripture, but the Holy Spirit who gave the Scripture, who leads unto all truth."

The Ohio Yearly Meeting, near Barnesville, is only one of twelve Yearly Meetings in America. The establishment of each was as follows: Newport, Rhode Island, 1671; Baltimore, Maryland, 1672; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1681; Ohio, 1813; Indiana, 1821; Illinois, 1858; Iowa, 1863; Canada, 1867; Kansas, 1872; Wilmington, Ohio, 1892; Oregon, 1893; California, 1895; all of which have their subordinate meetings, with which they are in constant communication, tenderly guiding the daily life of the members and urging them to grow in grace through the Power of the Inner Light.

In 1826, fifty years after the Declaration of Independence, and one hundred years ago, Ohio Yearly Meeting was composed of five Quarterly Meetings, fifty-three Particular Meetings and eight thousand eight hundred and seventy-three members, distributed as follows:

SALEM QUARTER

Middleton	277	Goshen	169
Fairfield	118	Marlborough	190
Beaver Falls	81	Lexington	114
Conneaut	39	Kendal	99
Salem	459	Deer Creek	92
Upper Springfield	280		
		Total	1,918

NEW GARDEN QUARTER

New Garden	370	Dry Run	47
Grove	138	Sandy Spring	294
New Lisbon	72	Augusta	183
Elk Run	195		
Carmel	218	Total	1,517

SHORT CREEK QUARTER

Smithfield	375	Concord	279
Cross Creek	154	Flushing	259
Short Creek	335	Freeport	246
Mt. Pleasant	253	Guernsey	138
West Grove	250	Brushy Fork	85
Harrisville	186		
Conotton	26	Total	2,586

STILLWATER QUARTER

Stillwater	363	St. Clairsville	182
Captina	204	Goshen	155
Deerfield	135	Somerset	191
Zanesville	52	Ridge	229
Richland	94	Sunbury	90
Blue Rock	60		
Plainfield	170	Total	1,925

REDSTONE QUARTER

Westland	267	Redstone	186
Pike Run	96	Sandy Hill	59
Head of Wheeling	23	Sewickley	44
Sandy Creek	44	Friends at Pittsburg	
Providence	100	(no meeting)	24
Center	45		
Ridge	39	Total	927

Pennsville Quarterly Meeting was not established until 1842, with six Particular Meetings—Pennsville, Hopewell, Westland, Chesterhill, in Morgan County, and Plymouth and Southland, in Washington County. It reached its maximum membership of about one thousand between the years 1850-1860. From the Pennsville Quarterly Meeting, during the decade from 1855 to 1865, there was a transplanting into Iowa of many Quaker families, where they established themselves and have maintained many of their Meetings until the present time.

From information written on the corner of the map published herewith, but not reproduced by the engraver, it appears that the first Meeting settled west of the Alleghany Mountains was Westland; Redstone, the first Quarterly Meeting west of the mountains; Concord, the first Meeting and Short Creek the first Quarterly Meeting in the State of Ohio; and Middleton the first Meeting in the northern part of the State.

THE QUAKER'S RELIGION.

"Now I was sent," Fox says, "to turn people from Darkness to Light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for to as many as should receive Him in His Light I saw that He would give power to become the sons of God, which I had obtained by receiving Christ; and I was to direct people to the Spirit that gave forth the Scriptures by which they might be led into all truth and so up to Christ and God, as they had been who gave them forth . . . I saw that the grace of God which brings salvation had appeared to all men, and that the manifestations of the Spirit of God was given to every man to profit withal."

"The purport of their doctrine and ministry," says William Penn, "for the most part is what other professors of Christianity pretend to hold in words and forms." But to this was added a belief in the direct revelation of Christ to the soul. "Now the Lord hath opened to me by His invisible power how that every man was enlightened by the Divine Light of Christ, and I saw it shine through all. And they that believe in it came out of condemnation, and came by the Light of life, and became the children of it; but they that hated it and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ."

David Gregg, in his *Makers of the American Republic*, asked:

What were the doctrines for which George Fox witnessed in his intrepid way and which he gave to his followers, and which made them a factor in civilization? We place the doctrine of the Inner Light first; all others flow from this. The doctrine of the Universal Inner Light is this—Jesus Christ lighteth every man that cometh into the world. This Spirit of

Christ in every man is sufficient to guide him. This Spirit of Christ in every man is not to be confounded with conscience; the distinction is clear between the human faculties and the Divine Spirit.

Conscience is an original faculty of human nature, the Spirit of Christ is an added faculty; instead of being identical with conscience, its purpose is to enlighten conscience.

The way the Inner Light is perceived and increased is by waiting in silence for it before God and by meditation. The more it is honored and rightly used the more and brighter it shines. You can see what this doctrine carries with it. If God speaks to the soul, then the voice of God frees the soul from all bondage to the false opinions and prejudices and faiths of men. That is LIBERTY indeed.

If God speaks directly to every man, then every man has a distinct individuality and is an independent personality. This consciousness, when nurtured and grown, breaks every human shackle, it quickens and deepens the sense of personal responsibility, for it brings God into every life and makes Him the sole authority.

Quoting from Thomas, *Discipline and Doctrine*:

Dependence upon the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit led the Friends to meet for divine worship in outward silence, as it was only under such circumstances that the Holy Spirit could call for what service He would and from whomsoever He would. They believed that nothing should come between the soul and God but Christ, and that to make the worship of a whole congregation depend upon the presence or absence of one man was contrary to the idea of true worship. Ministers, they held, were called and qualified of God, and so the exercise of their gifts was not to be dependent upon education or upon any special training; that the gift of the ministry was bestowed upon men and women alike. They believed in carrying gospel precepts into daily life more than most of their contemporaries, and all their dealings were to be in strict accord with their religious profession.

Carl Patterson, a minister of the Society, wrote me the following only a few weeks ago:

All of those things considered "queer" by those not Friends flow as naturally from the main concept of Quakerism as anything in the world. For one to feel that God speaks to him, that he is in His presence: Then are not all men equal? None

better, none worse than one's self, no titles, no bowing, no flattery; high or low, rich or poor, equal in His sight. To one who stands in His presence, to undertake to deck the person with costly apparel and to follow the fleeting fashions, seem most out of place; all places are alike "holy," for His presence can be felt anywhere, hence no veneration to building made of wood or brick or stone. And so on through the whole list, "they follow as night the day" in the mind of Him who stands in the presence of the Most High.

Isaac Sharpless says in his *Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History*:

Those who have only known the quiet, peace-loving Quakers of recent years, can hardly conceive the vigor and determination of their missionary labors, or the fierceness of their literary warfare against their opposers. There were said to be sixty thousand of them in England at the death of George Fox in 1690.

We may now be able to see why it was that the seventeenth century Quakers were so persecuted. They would not pay tithes to support a religion which struck at their conscience. They would not take an oath of allegiance. They would not take off their hats before magistrate, judge, or priest, or even before king or protector. They would not obey any law interfering with the liberty of their worship. They would not even give their persecutors the satisfaction of open resistance, and they could never be caught in any plots or designs against the government. With all this negative opposition, they were aggressively pushing themselves and their views into every corner of the kingdom. In the streets of London, the dales of Yorkshire, the mines of Cornwall, among the armies of the commonwealth, the students of the universities, the divines of the various denominations, the Quaker preachers were making their converts. They talked very plainly to Oliver Cromwell and Charles II. No iniquity, in high place or low, did they fail to rebuke.

They drew off congregations from their ministers, and ministers from their congregations, and were altogether such a ubiquitous, interfering, troublesome people that even the moderate judges found it hard to resist the temptation to send them to jail.

In addition to these causes of suffering, the various peculiarities of the Friends made them a prey to every informer and personal enemy. It was only necessary to get them once into court, on any pretext, when the hat, or the refusal to swear, would be sure to make any further fining or imprisonment quite regular and easy.

So thousands of them were in jail (and horrible places the jails were in England in those days) throughout the commonwealth, and hundreds died there. Other thousands were reduced to poverty, families were separated, and some of the "most sincere and pure-minded of Englishmen were made to endure more than was meted to the worst criminals."

The following general advices are read annually in all the Meetings of Friends in Great Britain:

Take heed, dear Friends, we entreat you, to the convictions of the Holy Spirit, who leads, through unfeigned repentance, and living faith in the Son of God, to reconciliation with our Heavenly Father, and to the blessed hope of eternal life, purchased for us by the one offering of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Be earnestly concerned in religious meetings reverently to present yourselves before the Lord; and seek, by the help of the Holy Spirit, to worship God through Jesus Christ.

Prize the privilege of access by Him unto the Father. Continue instant in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving.

Be in the frequent practice of waiting upon the Lord in private retirement, honestly examining yourselves as to your growth in grace, and your preparation for the life to come.

Be diligent in the private perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and let the daily reading of them in your families be devoutly conducted.

Be careful to make a profitable and religious use of those portions of time on the first day of the week which are not occupied by our Meetings for Worship.

Live in love as Christian brethren, ready to be helpful one to another, and sympathizing with each other in the trials and afflictions of life. Watch over one another for good, manifesting an earnest desire that each may possess a well-grounded hope in Christ.

Follow peace with all men, desiring the true happiness of all. Live not for yourselves but for others, seeking to undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free; remembering that it is your duty and privilege to labour for the physical, moral and spiritual well-being of your fellow-men.

With a tender conscience, in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel, take heed to the limitations of the Spirit of Truth in the pursuit of the things of this life.

Let your lights shine in lives of honest industry and patient love. Do your utmost to maintain yourselves and your families in an honorable independence, and, by prudent care in time of health, to provide for sickness and old age.

Maintain strict integrity in your transactions in trade, and in all your outward concerns. Guard against the spirit of speculation and the snare of accumulating wealth. Remember that we must account for the mode of acquiring, as well as for the manner of using, and finally disposing of our possessions.

Observe simplicity and moderation in your deportment and attire, in the furniture of your houses, and in your style and manner of living. Carefully maintain in your own conduct, and encourage in your families, truthfulness and sincerity; and avoid worldliness in all its forms.

Guard watchfully against the introduction into your households of publications of a hurtful tendency; and against such companionships, indulgences, and recreations whether for yourselves or your children, as may in any wise interfere with a growth in grace.

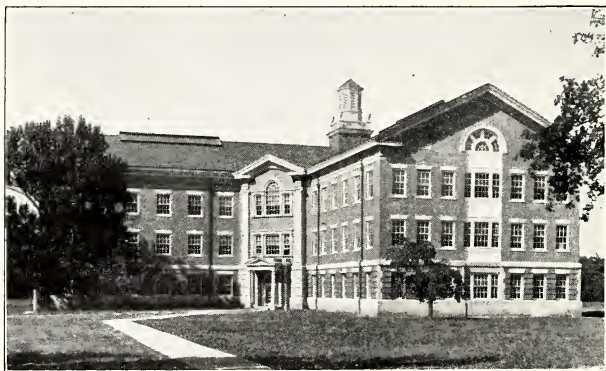
Avoid and discourage every kind of betting and gambling, and such speculation in commercial life as partakes of a gambling character.

In view of the manifold evils arising from the use of intoxicating liquors, prayerfully consider whether your duty to God and to your neighbor does not require you to abstain from using them yourselves or offering them to others and from having any share in their manufacture or sale.

In contemplating the engagement of marriage, look prin-

cipally to that which will help you on your heavenward journey. Pay filial regard to the judgment of your parents. Bear in mind the vast importance in such a union, of an accordance in religious principles and practice. Ask counsel of God; desiring above all temporal considerations, that your union be owned and blessed of Him.

Watch with Christian tenderness over the opening minds of your children; inure them to habits of self-restraint and filial obedience; carefully instruct them in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; and seek for ability to imbue their hearts with the love of their Heavenly Father, their Redeemer, and their Sanctifier.



CARPENTER HALL

Classroom and Administration Building at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. This building was erected in 1926 and used for the first time in the autumn of 1927. It replaced Lindley Hall, destroyed by fire in October, 1924.

Finally, dear Friends, let your whole conduct and conversation be such as become the Gospel. Exercise yourselves to have always a conscience void of offense toward God and toward men. Be steadfast and faithful in your allegiance and service to your Lord; continue in His love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

BY THEIR WORKS YE SHALL KNOW THEM.

In all affairs pertaining to the elevation of the race, the Quakers have taken an advanced position. Chief

Justice Taft has said, "The Society of Friends is a dangerous body to disagree with because it is usually two hundred years ahead of its time." From the time of George Fox, wherever a meeting-house was built, a schoolhouse was huddled close by it, where both girls and boys could receive a common school education and later advance to Old Guilford in North Carolina; Earlham College at Richmond, Indiana; Olney at Barnesville, Ohio; Westtown near Philadelphia; and finally to Haverford or Swarthmore. Only a little over a hundred years ago were the public schools of Boston open for girls, but George Fox, over two hundred and fifty years ago, advocated the equality, through education, of girls and boys, and such schools were duly organized in 1670.

In 1797, Peter Bedford, a London Quaker, established the first soup-kitchen for the poor. His Society not only established these public places for food, but also established a school for one thousand boys and five hundred girls at one penny per week each. This developed into the Bedford Institution where, today, twenty thousand persons are benefited in nine different centers in London, and as Alice Heald Mendenhall in *Some Social Aspects of the Society of Friends*, says, is something like Hull House.

Alice Heald Mendenhall also found in her research work, that "in 1669, Fox advised an almshouse for all poor Friends that are past work." The year after his death his wish in regard to a home for the poor, that were past work, was realized in London and the institution established by the Friends at that time is still in existence.

Margaret Fox, wife of George Fox, was treasurer of a missionary movement in 1654, where was collected and disbursed four hundred and ninety pounds, twelve shillings and sixpence, for the service of Truth.

Elizabeth Fry gathered seventy little waifs together each day for instruction, sowing the seed for children's homes. She was also interested in prison reforms, and established an asylum for discharged female prisoners,



FRIENDS' BOARDING-SCHOOL

Barnesville, Ohio. Rebuilt after the fire of March 31, 1910.

a school for vicious girls and a home for abandoned female children.

A step farther was made by William Penn, when he declared that prisons were for reformation rather than punishment.

Perhaps the most striking and persistent reform ever carried on by the Quakers, was their never-ceasing opposition to human slavery until it was driven from the face of the civilized world. The names of four Quakers—Allen, Woolman, Lundy and Coppock—stand out

preëminently in the overthrowing of this evil. I quote from Alice Heald Mendenhall again, "At the Congress of Sovereigns at Vienna, after the Battle of Waterloo, William Allen, an English Quaker, was present for the purpose of laying the subject of the slave-trade before the members of this body." The pass given him by



MOUNT PLEASANT BOARDING-SCHOOL

Built 1835-1836.

From a water color drawing in 1872.

Wellington which opened the way from Vienna to Verona, and which admitted him to attendance at the place of this meeting, read, "Courier to the Duke of Wellington." Perhaps never before did the representative of the British crown have a stranger "Courier" than this Quaker who would not even take off his hat to the Emperor, but who moved amidst this brilliancy of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," respected by all, and who was absorbed only in the cause which was so dear

to his heart. He bore letters from his co-workers—Clarkson and Wilberforce—in England; he was invited by Wellington to be present at the dinner of the sovereigns, which he declined; at the instance of the Czar of Russia, Allen spent four evenings with him in the discussions of social and philanthropic questions in the frankest possible manner.



WESTTOWN BOARDING-SCHOOL — 1810

Located at Westtown, Chester County, Pennsylvania.

It is thought that the influence of William Allen was one of several strong factors in bringing about the abolition of the slave-trade in Europe.

It is not generally remembered that before the Revolutionary War, slavery existed in the North as well as the South, that there were as many slaves north of the Maryland-Virginia line as south of it, probably as many in Newport, Rhode Island, as in Richmond, Virginia,

and that a majority of the slave-traders lived in the North.

The Quakers, led by John Woolman, of New Jersey, started such a crusade against the evil that public opinion became so aroused, that it gradually but permanently disappeared in the North before the time of the Civil War.

John Woolman's *Journal*, covering this period, has been published and President Eliot of Harvard includes it in his "Five Foot Shelf of Books."

In our own country, early in the nineteenth century, Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker, originated an Abolition Society whose first members were Jefferson Harrison, and Belmont County Quakers; and Randall and Ryan in their *The Rise and Progress of an American State*, say that to Benjamin Lundy must be credited, more than to any single man in American history, the gigantic moral movement against slavery, which preceded the Civil War, and which did more than any other one thing to arouse the American people to a sense of the injustice of slavery. Benjamin Lundy organized the "Union Humane Society," in 1815, the purpose of which was to agitate anti-slavery sentiments. He says in his writings, "I had lamented the sad condition of the slave. I called a few friends together and unbosomed my feelings to them. The result was the organization of an anti-slavery association, called the Union Humane Society." One of the chief spirits of this association was William Cooper Howells, father of the American novelist, William Dean Howells.

Lundy was, for a time, agent for Osborn's *Journal, The Philanthropist*. He lived at St. Clairsville, Ohio.

until 1821, when he moved to Mount Pleasant, where he began the publication of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. It immediately acquired a widespread circulation throughout the country, and Benjamin Lundy became the first real effective force in the promotion of the abolition sentiment throughout the United States. When he commenced his agitation, William Lloyd Garrison was but a boy, and it is to Lundy that Garrison, in after years, gave credit for enlisting him in the cause of freedom. The anti-slavery sentiment in Ohio continued to develop from the humble association established by Benjamin Lundy, so that in 1837, there were two hundred and thirteen anti-slavery societies in this State, with 17,253 members.

At the time when John Brown was captured and hanged at Harper's Ferry, with him was a modest young man, Edwin Coppock, twenty-four years old, who had been reared under Quaker influence at Winona, Columbiana County, Ohio, and who had gone to the Quaker community at Springdale, Iowa, where John Brown spent the winter before the Harper's Ferry campaign. Edwin Coppock's last letter well shows the spirit of the Fathers.

Charlestown, [Virginia,] Dec. 13th, 1859.

My Dear Uncle:

I seat myself by the stand, to write for the *first*, and last time, to thee and thy family. Though far from home and overtaken by misfortune, I have not forgotten you. Your generous hospitality towards me, during my short stay with you last spring, is stamped indelibly upon my heart; and also the generosity bestowed upon my poor brother, who now wanders an outcast from his native land. But thank God he is free. I am thankful that it is I, who has to suffer, instead of him.

The time may come when he will remember me, and the time may come when he will still further remember the cause in which I die. Thank God, the principles of the cause in which

we were engaged *will not die with me and my brave comrades*. They will spread wider and wider, and gather strength with each hour that passes. The voice of truth will echo through our land, bringing conviction to the erring, and adding *numbers to that glorious army who will follow its banner*. The cause of everlasting truth and justice *will go on conquering*, to conquer, until our broad and beautiful land shall rest beneath the banner of freedom.

I had hoped to live to see the dawn of that glorious day. I had hoped to live to see the principles of the Declaration of our Independence fully realized. I had hoped to see the dark stain of slavery blotted from our land, and the libel of our boasted freedom erased, when we can say in truth, that our beloved country is the land of the free and the home of the brave.

But this cannot be. I have heard my sentence passed. My doom is sealed. But two more short days remain for me to fulfill my earthly destiny. But two brief days between me and eternity. At the expiration of those two days, I shall stand upon the scaffold to take my last look of earthly scenes, but that scaffold has but little dread for me; for I honestly believe that I am innocent of any crime justifying such punishment. But by the taking of my life, and the lives of my comrades, Virginia is but hastening on that glorious day, when the slave shall rejoice in his freedom. When he can say, "*I too am a man*, and am groaning no more under the yoke of oppression."

But I must now close. Accept this short scrawl as a remembrance of me. Give my love to all the family. Kiss little Josey for me. Remember me to all my relatives and friends. And now farewell for the last time.*

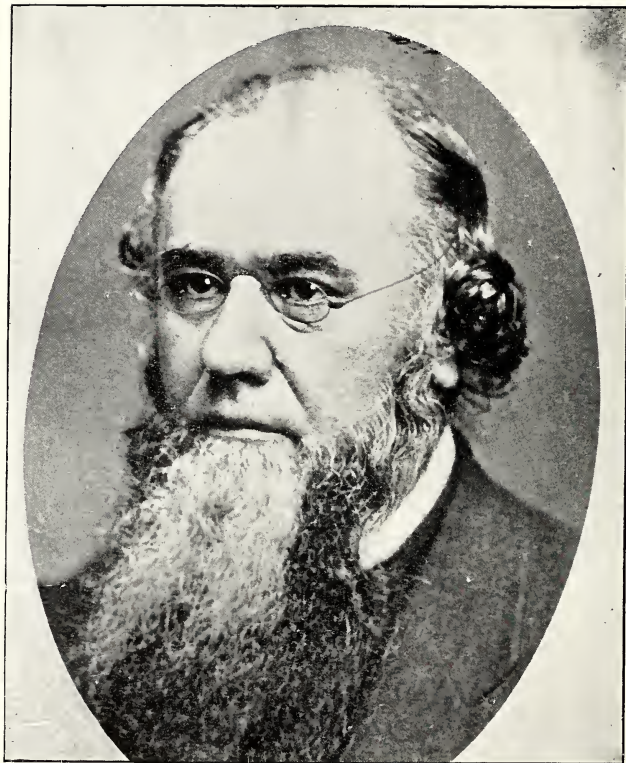
From thy Nephew,

EDWIN COPPOC.

Remember this was a Quaker boy only twenty-four years old, but in his noble soul was the spirit of Fox, Allen, Penn, Lundy and hundreds of Quaker Abolitionists of the time, who would have died for the cause as freely as did he.

Edwin Coppock's body had hardly been laid away in

* The original of this letter is in the Library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.



EDWIN McMASTERS STANTON

Secretary of War in Lincoln's and Johnson's Cabinets. He was born at Steubenville, Ohio, in 1814, and was a first cousin to Joseph Stanton, whose Marriage Certificate is shown facing page 59.

the little Quaker graveyard at Winona, Columbiana County, Ohio, until the great conflict was upon us, but when it was over, Slavery was no more forever, among the nations of the world.

When Abraham Lincoln needed a War Secretary, he chose the stern, methodical, forceful Edwin M. Stanton, whose grandmother, as a widow with a large family, drove her wagon with the first body of Quakers that left South Carolina for the Northwest Territory. It is said that her's was the first wagon that forded the Ohio River, a few miles above Wheeling, into the new country, and the next day, she with her children, sitting upon a log, attended the first Quaker meeting in Ohio. Nearby, she located her farm where the great War Secretary was reared under Quaker influences.

You may be surprised to know that Dolly Madison, the wife of President James Madison, whose sparkling wit and generous hospitality still linger in memories about the White House, was of a Philadelphia Quaker family and her first marriage was a Quaker wedding.

Thomas Mifflin, reared a Quaker, but a Revolutionary General, defeated Arthur St. Clair for first Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The artist, Benjamin West, born of Quaker parents, began painting portraits at the age of seventeen, soon went to Europe for study and became, in time, the President of the Royal Academy.

The poet, Whittier, always in Quaker dress, always using the plain language in his conversation, carried into his verses the soul and spirit of the Quaker Faith as is felt in his poem, "The Silent Room."

Joseph Gurney Cannon, who for many years was

speaker of the National House of Representatives, came into Illinois with his Quaker parents from Virginia, and he told the writer that it was the Quaker vote that first sent him to Congress, (notice it was a Republican district). Joseph Cannon also told me this story as it was told to him by General Butterworth whose parents were Ohio Quakers.

A few days after the Battle of Gettysburg, in which General Butterworth and a number of his comrades from the old home meeting, were engaged, they were all expelled, or as they call it, disowned, for violating the discipline by actually taking up arms in time of war. This, in itself, was not strange, but General Butterworth said that it was his own father who brought the matter before the meeting and asked for their disownment; that his father had not heard from him since the great battle and did not then know whether he was asking for the disownment of a dead son, or a live soldier. Such is Quaker discipline.

Of all the public men in the United States today, no one is held in higher esteem than Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce in President Coolidge's Cabinet. He still holds his birthright in a western Quaker Meeting and it is no accident that he is Secretary of Commerce, whose official influence reaches all parts of the world, for the balancing of the commercial relations of the nations of the world is the best safeguard for Peace—the Keystone of the Quaker's Religion.

It may be that the Quaker has not always been understood. He has been called queer, he has been called clannish, he may be different from other denominations in the fact that he gauges his actions, not from external things, but from the inner and spiritual man, and he trusts others who have experienced the same Inner Light and binds himself with them, rather than to man-made decrees and laws. But in their relations with

American History, they never hanged a witch; they never were intolerant; they never waged an Indian war; they never confiscated one acre of American soil; they never isolated themselves to the detriment of other denominations; they never retaliated when they were persecuted for conscience's sake, cast into prison; or even complained at the death sentence, all of which they suffered both in Old and New England, by people speaking the same language and worshipping the same God.

To them a great work was given. They came into existence at a time in the history of England when excesses were running riot, when immorality was the password into society. They became the moderators of the times and carried their teachings across the Atlantic into America, where they found expression in the building of a new State. Their organization is still intact. The early teachings and the belief in the Inner Light is still theirs and, should history repeat itself, as some things now would indicate, they may again stand as moderators and help bring the pendulum back to normalcy.

The author wishes to acknowledge the kindness of William H. Stanton of Ridley Park, Pennsylvania, who furnished most of the plates from which many of the illustrations were produced; also to Mr. C. B. Galbreath and his efficient office force who made this paper possible.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR SOLDIERS BURIED IN CLARK COUNTY OHIO

BY A. L. SLAGER.*

The attached roster of men who served on the side of the Colonists during the War of American Independence, and who are buried in Clark County, has been compiled from partial lists of names furnished by Colonel George I. Gunckel, Dayton, Ohio, president of the Ohio Society Sons of the American Revolution, and a similar list taken from the records of the George Rogers Clark Chapter, S. A. R., of Springfield, as well as a list prepared by a committee of Lagonda Chapter, D. A. R., of the same city, composed of Mrs. C. M. Clark, Mrs. A. A. Wright, Mrs. Albert Greaves, Miss Dora Rubsam and Mrs. E. E. Otstott.

Comparison of these lists with township histories of Clark County, both printed and in manuscript, has revealed that several of the names given, are of men who were not in the Revolutionary War, but who enlisted in the American Army during the War of 1812-14. One other, mentioned in the S. A. R. records, as having been born in 1775, may have been in the War of 1812, but there is no available record to substantiate the claim. A fourth name is that of a man who was not in either army.

These names have been eliminated from the roster presented herewith, which after careful investigation, is

* Secretary of the Clark County Historical Society, Springfield, Ohio.

believed to be as accurate as it is humanly possible to make it at this late date, and with the historical data available.

It is to be regretted that so little of the war record of these patriots has been preserved. Such isolated sketches, as can be found in the history of Clark County, have been collected and are presented as memorials of these Revolutionary heroes who came into the wilderness of western Ohio, and settled in what is now Clark County, in the early years of the nineteenth century, and to whose loyalty, energy and industry, we owe much that is now the heritage of its present population.

The removals, as noted, from farms and small cemeteries, were made with perhaps a few exceptions, in December, in the year 1906, and such graves as could be located have been designated by suitable iron markers.

ROSTER OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR SOLDIERS
BURIED IN CLARK COUNTY, OHIO.

Albin, John.....	Ebenezer Cemetery, Green Township.
Bacon, Capt. Richard.....	Ferncliff Cemetery, Springfield.
Baird, William.....	Asbury Chapel Cemetery, Pleasant Township.
Baker, Nelyn.....	Enon Cemetery, Mad River Township.
Bancroft, John.....	Columbia Street Cemetery, Springfield.
Bardwell, Simeon.....	Thompson Cemetery, Near Old Columbus Road.
Bayley (or Bailey), Timothy..	Fletcher Chapel Cemetery, Harmony Township.
Beardsley, Elijah.....	Columbia Street Cemetery, Springfield. Northeast corner.

- Bridge, Benjamin.....Enon Cemetery, Mad River Township.
- Brown, Frederick.....Green Lawn Cemetery, South Charleston.
- Christie, Lieut. Jesse.....Columbia Street Cemetery, Springfield. Northeast corner.
- Craig, John S.....Fletcher Chapel Cemetery, Harmony Township. (Removed from Wragg Cemetery.)
- Dawson, Lieut. Henry.....Asbury Chapel Cemetery, Pleasant Township. (Removed from Dawson farm.)
- Ebersole, Jacob.....Donnel's Creek Cemetery, Pike Township.
- Farnum, John S.....Fletcher Chapel Cemetery, Harmony Township.
- Frantz, Benjamin.....Old Frantz Cemetery, Bethel Township.
- Galloway, James.....Enon Cemetery, Mad River Township. (Removed from Galloway farm, August, 1906.)
- Garlough, John Henry.....Garlough Cemetery, Green Township.
- Harriman, Stephen.....Lisbon Cemetery, Harmony Township.
- Hempleman, George.....Green Lawn Cemetery, South Charleston
- Jones, Benjamin.....Garlough Cemetery, Green Township.
- Keller, John.....Old Frantz Cemetery, Bethel Township.
- Kelley, James.....Columbia Street Cemetery, Springfield.
- Lamme, James L.....Lamme Cemetery, Bethel Township, Section 4.

Lane, Robert.....	Ferncliff Cemetery, Springfield. (Known as Granddaddy Lane) (Removed from McCullough farm.)
Lippencott, Samuel.....	Myers Cemetery, Pike Township, Northampton. (Removed from Seventh-Day Baptist Cemetery.)
McCleave, George.....	Ferncliff Cemetery, Springfield. (Removed from Columbia Street Cemetery.)
McIntire, William.....	Columbia Street Cemetery, Spring- field. (Removed from Miller farm, southeast of Springfield.)
Nauman, Thomas.....	Nauman farm, German Township, Section 13.
Parsons, John.....	Mad River Township. Cemetery unknown.
Pool, William.....	Fletcher Chapel Cemetery, Har- mony Township.
Rodgers, William.....	Moorefield Township. Cemetery unknown.
Servase, William.....	Bethel Township. Cemetery un- known.
Toland, John Cornelius.....	Columbia Street Cemetery, Spring- field.
Tuttle, Sylvanus.....	Tuttle Farm Cemetery, Springfield Township.
Vicory, Merrifield.....	Greenmount Cemetery, Springfield.
Wilson, Isaac.....	Madison Township. Cemetery un- known.

In 1906, the following petition was presented to the County Commissioners of Clark County, by five freeholders in each township, as provided by law:

The undersigned freeholders of the Township of Springfield, desiring to avail ourselves of the provisions of an act passed (by the Legislature of Ohio) April 21, 1904, authorizing the County Commissioners to furnish Memorial Tablets for the graves of deceased soldiers, sailors and marines, do hereby peti-

tion your honorable body to furnish suitable and proper metal markers, such as hereafter described, for the graves of the soldiers who served in the war of the American Revolution.

The form and character of the metal Tablets is described on pages 20, 22 and 24 of the catalog herewith submitted and made a part of this petition. The undersigned earnestly request your honorable body that immediate action be taken on this petition as authorized by the act above referred to.

In response to this petition, the Commissioners furnished markers for twenty-two graves, which had been located by Attorney Oscar T. Martin, Forrest M. Runyan and persons in the vicinity of the burial-places. The markers were placed over the graves by Messrs. Martin and Runyan, in 1906.

Additional graves were located and markers placed at their head in later years by the Lagonda Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

HISTORICAL DATA.

JOHN ALBIN. Father of Gabriel, George and William Albin, came from Winchester, Virginia, with his son, George, in 1810, and settled in the western part of Green Township. His war record has not been preserved in the County or Township histories. His son, George, served in the War of 1812, and his grandson, Cyrus (son of George), served in the Civil War, having enlisted in Captain Asa S. Bushnell's Company, Fifty-second Regiment, in May, 1864. John Albin is buried in Ebenezer Cemetery, Green Township.

WILLIAM BAIRD was of English origin, his father's family having come from England to the Colony of Maryland at an early day. He was born at Hagerstown, March 16, 1762, and when eighteen years of age joined the Revolutionary Army. At the close of the war he married Dorothy Camerer, who was also born at Hagerstown, in the year of 1760. She was of Holland-Dutch descent, her father having come to the Colonies

from Holland, before the war. In 1790, William Baird and his wife removed from Maryland to Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, where they resided about four years, and then came down the Ohio in a flatboat to Limestone (now Maysville), Kentucky, going from there to a land claim given him by his father, in Fleming County, in that State. The claim having been proven invalid, he again removed, coming with his family to Clark County, Ohio. Here he entered 160 acres of land in Section 30, Range 9, Harmony Township. He obtained his patent for this land in 1812.

During his residence in Kentucky, William Baird had become acquainted with the noted pioneers and Indian Scouts, Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton. Besides himself and wife, his family consisted of three sons and five daughters. He acquired 394 acres of land, which he left to his surviving children. The mother, Dorothy, died in 1824, and the father in 1836. He is buried in Asbury Chapel Cemetery, Pleasant Township.

MELYN BAKER enlisted in the American army in 1776, and was wounded in the battle of Monmouth, New Jersey. In 1790, he, with two brothers — Jonathan and Donald — came from New Jersey and settled on the present site of Cincinnati, and a few years later removed to Butler County, Ohio; in 1805 they came to the present County of Clark, where Melyn Baker entered in a section of land in Section 13, Range 9, Mad River Township. Melyn was given to hospitality, and on more than one occasion, incoming pioneers were invited to his cabin, to remain until they could erect cabins upon their own lands. His remains now rest in the Enon Cemetery.

LIEUTENANT JOHN BANCROFT enlisted as a private, with the eight months troops, in Capt. Isaac Bolster's Company, under Col. Eben Larned, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and was given a commission as second lieutenant by the Council of Safety, prior to the election of Washington to the presidency. Some time after the close of hostilities he applied for a pension and sent his commission to Washington, D. C., but it was never returned. He was the son of Moses and Mary

Bancroft, and was born at Reading, Mass., September 18, 1748. On December 1, 1777, he was married to Anna Walters, to whom were born four sons — Amasa, John, Lewis and Lawson — and one daughter — Nancy. He died September 28, 1837, and is buried in the Columbia Street Cemetery, Springfield, Ohio.

TIMOTHY BAYLEY (or BAILEY). Beyond the fact that he is known to have served in the War of the Revolution, but little is known of William Bailey. He is said to have walked from New Hampshire to Ohio, and after a residence of a few years, returned to his native state, married and brought his bride and his father's family to Clark County. He is buried in Fletcher Chapel Cemetery, Harmony Township.

ELIJAH BEARDSLEY was born in New Fairfield, Conn., May 27, 1760, and entered the army of the American Patriots at the age of sixteen years. On June 27, 1780, he was married at New Fairfield, to Sally Hubbell, to whom were born fourteen children — six sons and eight daughters. About the year 1796 he removed with his family to Delaware County, N. Y., and from thence, early in the year 1812, to Urbana, Ohio. Three years later he and his family took up their abode in Springfield. Here they first occupied a log house near the southeast corner of Plum and Main Streets, where with pioneer hospitality, they provided a pleasant stopping place for many a weary traveler who wished to tarry for the night. One of the daughters married Ira Page, prominent in the early history of Springfield, and another daughter married another useful and highly esteemed citizen of the place — James S. Christie. Elijah Beardsley's good wife died in Springfield on July 23, 1813, and his own death occurred October 2, 1826. They are buried in the north-east corner of the Columbia Street Cemetery, Springfield.

There has been, for a long time, a local tradition that Elijah Beardsley was one of the "Indians" who comprised the "Boston Tea Party." This tradition, however, like many others, does not appear to be founded on fact. Boarding British ships and destroying their cargoes was serious business, piracy in fact. Beardsley, at the time of this occurrence, was a thirteen-year-old

boy, living at New Fairfield, Conn., more than two hundred miles to the southeast of Boston, by the water route, and it is not at all probable that he was in Boston on that memorable day; and if he had been, no group of men would have tolerated the presence of a boy of his age among them in so hazardous an undertaking. The following account of this revolutionary proceeding is given by the well-known historian — John Clark Ridpath:

At Boston, the tea had been consigned to Governor Hutchinson and his friends; and special precautions were taken to prevent a failure of the enterprise; but the authorities stubbornly stood their ground and would not permit the tea to be landed. On the 16th of December (1773), the dispute was settled in a memorable manner. There was a great town meeting at which seven thousand people were assembled. Adams (Samuel) and Quincy (Josiah) spoke to the multitudes. Evening came on and the meeting was about to adjourn, when a war-whoop was heard, and about fifty men, disguised as Indians, passed the door of the Old South Church. The crowd followed to Griffin's Wharf, where the three tea ships were at anchor. Then everything became quiet. The disguised men quickly boarded the vessels, broke open the three hundred and forty chests of tea that composed the cargoes, and poured the contents into the sea. Such was the Boston Tea Party.

BENJAMIN BRIDGE enlisted in the Revolutionary Army at the age of 22, and served during the war. He died in Clark County, and is buried in Enon Cemetery, Mad River Township.

FREDERICK BROWN. Born October 29, 1753. Died January 29, 1829, and is buried in Green Lawn Cemetery, at South Charleston, Ohio.

LIEUTENANT JESSE CHRISTIE enlisted in the War of the Revolution, in a New Hampshire Regiment, under Col. Daniel Moore. In the fall of 1817, he with his son, Major Robert Christie, came to Springfield, Ohio, the Lieutenant being then in the eighty-eighth year of his age, while the Major had reached his forty-second year. Father and son took up their abode in a farm-house on what is now the northwest corner of Wittenberg Avenue and Main Street. Major Christie died in August, 1822, and his death was followed by that of his father, in January, 1823, in his ninety-fourth year. Lieutenant Christie is buried in the northeast corner of the Columbia Street Cemetery.

JOHN S. CRAIG was born February 15, 1753, and entered the American Army in January, 1775. After a service of five years, he was honorably discharged in 1780. Coming to Ohio, he settled in what is now Harmony Township, Clark County. He was a citizen who had the esteem of all who knew him, for his moral worth and sterling character. His death occurred at the home of Lewis Skillings, in Springfield, and he was laid to rest in the Fletcher Chapel Cemetery, in Harmony Township.

LIEUTENANT HENRY DAWSON served as an officer in the War of the Revolution, and at the close of the struggle for American independence, settled in Kentucky. In 1804, he brought his family to what is now Clark County, Ohio, and located on a tract of land near Catawba, which at that time was in the midst of a dense forest. He brought with him a number of young apple-trees, which he planted near the cabin he built upon his arrival. These were the first fruit-trees brought into that locality. The trees bore fruit many years, and seventy-six years after planting, some of them still remained.

Henry Dawson was a cooper, and supplied his neighbors with tubs and buckets, and also manufactured barrels for the mills and distilleries which later were established in the northeast section of the county. He also built and operated a small mill for grinding corn, and was thus able to supply the early settlers in that region with corn-meal, which was an important addition to the family larder of that day. In addition to himself and wife, his family consisted of five children — George, John, Richard, Harriett and Elizabeth. A small plot of ground was allotted on the western side of the Dawson farm for a neighborhood cemetery, and here Henry Dawson and his wife were buried. In October, 1906, their remains were removed to Asbury Chapel Cemetery, in Pleasant Township.

JACOB EBERSOLE was a member of a Pennsylvania Regiment, during the Revolutionary War. He died in 1828, and is buried in the Donnel's Creek Cemetery near Northampton, Pike Township, about one mile south of Northampton.

JOHN S. FARNUM (or FARNSWORTH) was born September 9, 1763; served in the Revolutionary War; died in Clark County (date unknown), and is buried in Fletcher Chapel Cemetery, Harmony Township.

BENJAMIN FRANTZ came to what is now Clark County, from Pennsylvania, in 1812, having served in the war, waged by the mother country, against the American Colonies. He settled in German Township, and is buried in the old Frantz Cemetery, Bethel Township.

JAMES GALLOWAY, SR., emigrated in an early day, from Pennsylvania to Kentucky, but on account of the insecurity of land titles, brought his family to Ohio, and settled about two miles north of Old Chillicothe (Old Town), in 1798. This location was included within the limits of Hamilton County at that time. A short time later he removed to what is now Section 5, in the southern end of Mad River Township, where he entered four hundred acres of land. Greene County was formed from Hamilton and Ross Counties, in May, 1803, and included all of the present Clark County. James Galloway was at once appointed Treasurer of Greene County, and his son, James, Jr., was appointed surveyor by the newly organized county court. The court convened for the trial of causes, August 2, 1803, and these appointments were made during the same month.

During the Revolutionary War, James Galloway, the subject of this sketch, was in the service of the Colonies in the capacity of hunter, to procure game for the army. He was in the fight between the Indians and Kentucky settlers, at the Blue Licks, Kentucky, and in the campaign of 1792 was shot by the renegade, Simon Girty, whom he well knew. Going through the woods, on horseback and unarmed, they met face to face. Girty, perceiving that Galloway was without his rifle, said, "Now Galloway, d—n you, I've got you," and instantly fired three small bullets into his body. Girty supposed he had killed him. Although badly wounded, Galloway wheeled his horse and made good his escape. One of these bullets passed through his shoulder and lodged in the back of his neck, where it remained many years,

and was there when he came to Ohio. At length, there being no surgeon within reach, he sent for a shoe cobbler, who, with his knife and awl, extracted the bullet.

Beer's *History of Clark County* relates an interesting story, stating that the subject of this sketch was a blacksmith, and that he brought his tools to Ohio from Kentucky. This, however, is an error, as the narrative applies to another James Galloway, a cousin of our hero, who had located near the banks of the Mad River, and there carried on his trade as blacksmith, while James Galloway, Sr., had located his 400 acres of land on Muddy Run, where he lived during the remainder of his life. He had a daughter, Rebecca, who, it has been stated, taught the Indian Chief, Tecumseh, to read and speak the English language. Tecumseh at that time was twenty-eight or thirty years of age, and a friend of the family. During his visits for instruction, he became enamored of the young woman, and finally asked of her father that she be given him in marriage. The father referred him to his daughter, who politely refused his suit, saying she did not wish to become a wild woman, and perform the labors of a squaw. To this he replied that she need not work, but that he would make of her a "great squaw." It is said that notwithstanding her refusal, Tecumseh always remained friendly to the family.

James Galloway, Sr., was buried in a neighborhood cemetery upon his farm on Muddy Run. In the fall of 1906, the remains of himself and wife were removed to the Enon Cemetery, at the instance of the local chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, by T. J. Montgomery, of the G. A. R.

STEPHEN HARRIMAN enlisted in General Stark's Brigade of New Hampshire Militia, and marched with his company from Hopkintown, New Hampshire, July 22, 1777. After serving two months under Captain Bailey, he was discharged September 22, 1777, and again entered the service as a private, in the Third Continental Regiment, Company 5, Col. Squarnell commanding. He died February 25, 1828, and is buried in the Lisbon Cemetery, Harmony Township. He was 71 years of age at the time of his death.

JAMES KELLEY was a private in the Virginia troop, commanded by Col. Gibson, during the Revolutionary War. He died April 30, 1837, aged 85 years, and is buried in the Columbia Street Cemetery, Springfield, Ohio.

ROBERT LAING (or LANE). The following is taken from a manuscript address delivered a number of years since, at a pioneer meeting held near Emery Chapel, by W. M. Harris, himself a pioneer:

In the first house north of "Possum Road" (Greene Township), lived old Mr. Lane. All knew him as "Granddaddy Lane." He was a soldier in the Revolution, and the only one I ever saw. The boys from "Possum School" used to go to his place for apples. The trees had grown from seeds and the apples were sweet.

When the electric railroad was built, it became necessary to remove his remains from the McCullough farm, where he had been buried, and they were interred in Ferncliff Cemetery, at Springfield.

SAMUEL LIPPENCOTT, SR., was born August 20, 1758; he was brought to Ohio, in 1810, by his son, Obadiah Lippencott. He was born August 20, 1758, and served in the Revolutionary War. He died in Clark County, and was buried in the German Baptist Cemetery, near Northampton. He was 95 years of age at the time of his death. His remains were removed to the Myers Cemetery.

GEORGE McCLEAVE moved with his family from Maryland to Colerain, Ohio, on the Big Miami River, about 1790. He was tall and of good personal appearance; a shoemaker by trade, which he learned in Philadelphia; was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, participating in one of the great battles; died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Mary (McCleave) Reddish, east of Springfield, Ohio, and was buried in the old Columbia Street Graveyard, at Springfield, Ohio. His remains were later removed to Ferncliff Cemetery. George McCleave had four children: John, Elizabeth, Benjamin and Mary. Elizabeth married Samuel Smith, August 22, 1801; her husband was the son

of Rev. Peter Smith, the maternal grandfather of General J. Warren Keifer, of Springfield, Ohio. George McCleave's wife died soon after their arrival at Colerain, and the daughter, Elizabeth, kept house for her father and brothers until her marriage to Samuel Smith. In 1791, several hundred Indians, led by Simon Girty, besieged the garrison at Colerain, where the McCleaves lived, and Elizabeth, with the other women of the place, did her part in defending the fort by moulding bullets for the men, who kept up a vigorous fight until relieved by a rescuing party from Fort Washington (Cincinnati). In the year 1805, Samuel Smith and his wife, Elizabeth (McCleave) Smith, moved from Columbia, with his father's family, to Clark County, Ohio, and built a cabin near the east and west forks of Donnel's Creek, about one-half mile from the present village of Donnelstown. In 1819, George McCleave, now well advanced in years, went with his son, Benjamin, to Illinois, where he remained two years, and then returned to Clark County, Ohio, where he spent the remainder of his days at the homes of his daughters, Elizabeth Smith and Mary Reddish, near Springfield. Descendants of his sons, John and Benjamin, were living in Lawrence County, Illinois, as late as 1921.

WILLIAM MCINTIRE was a private in the 17th Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. Wm. Irwin, Commander. He enlisted in the American army August 1, 1777, and served under Capt. Samuel Montgomery during the remainder of the war. He came to Clark County, Ohio, in an early day, and lived at what is now the southwest corner of Limestone Street and McCreight Avenue. He is said to have been a personal friend of William Henry Harrison. He died in Springfield and is buried in the old Columbia Street Cemetery.

THOMAS NAUMAN, SR. In the year 1809, Thomas Nauman, Sr., brought his family from Virginia and settled in the neighborhood of Tremont City, Clark County, Ohio. According to a statement made by Mr. John H. Blose, who in 1901 wrote an excellent history of German Township, Clark County, Thomas Nauman was one of the Revolutionary Patriots who

could rightfully claim to have been a member of the "Boston Tea Party." He acquired a farm about four miles south of Tremont City, in Section 13, German Township, where he lived and died, and is buried in the Nauman Graveyard on his farm. He was born in Massachusetts, and after the Revolutionary War, settled in Shenandoah County, Virginia, before coming to Ohio.

JOHN CORNELIUS TOLAND was born in the year 1750, and served in the American Army in the Revolutionary War. He came to the village of Springfield in an early day and was the first of the Revolutionary soldiers to be buried in Clark County with military honors. The following account of his funeral was published in *The Western Pioneer*, a Springfield newspaper, on August 14, 1835, under the head-line, "Another Revolutionary Hero Gone."

John Toland, aged 85, was buried yesterday, according to his request, with the honors of War, rendered by the "Clark Guards." An appropriate address was delivered by Mr. (Charles) Anthony. The deceased served in the American Army during the whole war.

Note—The "Clark Guards" was a semi-military company of citizens organized for the protection of the community, in the absence of a marshal or police. Each guard possessed a horse and mounted parades were held at stated intervals.

SYLVANUS TUTTLE was a member of the New Jersey branch of the Tuttle family; about the year 1784, he was married to a comely young woman — Mary Brown — who seems to have been possessed of the same venturesome spirit that characterized her husband. Soon after their marriage, they emigrated to western Pennsylvania, and after a few years, to the vicinity of Clarksburg, West Virginia. From there they removed to Clark County, Ohio, in the year 1806, and took up their residence near the headwaters of Buck Creek, about six miles northeast of New Moorefield, where they resided about two years, when they removed to a tract of land which Sylvanus Tuttle entered on Sinking Creek, about one and one-half miles from its mouth, in the eastern end of Springfield Township and about six miles east of Springfield.

When they settled on this land, there were in the Tuttle family six boys and two daughters. A third daughter, the eldest, had married in Virginia, and she, with her husband, accompanied her parents to their new home in the wilds of the new State of Ohio. Sylvanus Tuttle was a "Minute Man" in the Revolutionary Army, and was in the battle of Monmouth, New Jersey, and at other places. When the family came to Ohio, they brought with them a goodly supply of garden and apple-tree seeds, a flock of fifteen or twenty sheep, two or three cows, and the horses and wagons used in their journey to Clark County.

After a long and useful life, Sylvanus Tuttle died at his home on the farm, and was buried in the Byrd Cemetery, Springfield Township. He was in the eighty-second year of his age, at the close of his life. His remains were removed to the Tuttle Farm Graveyard, one-half mile southwest of the Sinking Creek Church.

MERRIFIELD VICORY was a drummer boy in the Revolutionary War, and had his drum shot from his side at the Siege of Yorktown, receiving a pension for his services in the conflict. He was an odd but genial character. He located in Springfield in 1814; he was a short, round man, with a jolly face, and soon became known as "Little Daddy Vicory." He did not lack courage, as will be seen from the following narrative. "Early on a Sunday morning, while living in Springfield, he discovered a thief stealing bacon from his smoke-house; securing a rope he caught the thief and tied him securely until the hour when people were on their way to church, when he drove him to the Presbyterian Meeting-House, under the persuasive influence of a large club, with two sides of bacon tied to his shoulders, taking him to the door of the church he asked the people, there assembled, if they claimed him as one of their members. This was such a humiliating lesson that the thief, upon being released, disappeared and never was seen in the town again." Soon after locating in Springfield, Merrifield Vicory bought ten acres of the land on what afterward became the east end of High Street. He died in March, 1849, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and was buried with military honors in Greenmount Cemetery.

STORY OF AN OLD DUTCH CHEST

BY C. S. VAN TASSEL.

The ordinary student of the world's history knows more or less of the story of the Spanish Armada—how that majestic maritime wonder of the sixteenth century sailed from Corunna, in July, in the year 1588, in all its splendor and heralded invincibility, intent upon crushing the English Dynasty and changing the map of Europe. Instead of success, however, the great fleet met with almost annihilation, only a bleeding and sadly battered remnant returning to Spain again, after a campaign of some two months' duration.

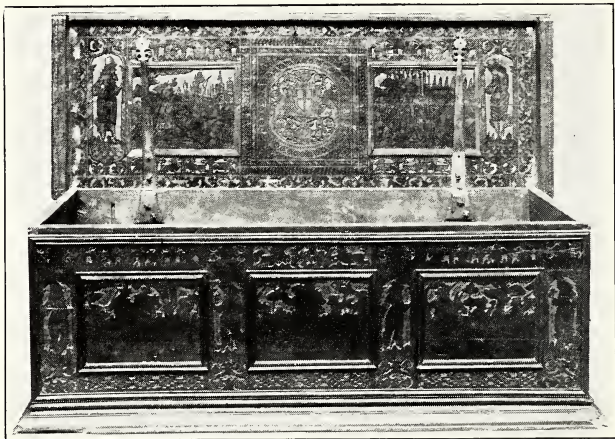
Of one hundred and thirty-four ships which put to sea so majestically, only fifty-three succeeded in reaching home shores. Of the thirty thousand men, the pride of all Spain, who sailed with the Armada, only about ten thousand ever saw their native land again.

And there is entwined with this great world event another story which brings it down through the centuries and combines with it a vivid local color; a story of interest to all Ohio, which centers around a prominent Toledoan, Mr. Walter J. Sherman.

To go back, even before the disaster to this great Spanish fleet, there was in the Netherlands, during a period of the sixteenth century, an era of expert carving and wood-working. There were, among the Dutch, masters in the art of fashioning elaborate chests and beautiful cabinets, equal in design to those of other

countries, famed in years gone by for their priceless handiwork.

History also recites that before the time of the Armada, when Spain invaded the land of the Dutch, the Spaniards considered the whole wealth of the Nether-



THE OLD WILLOUGHBY CHEST

This Chest was brought from England, in 1662, by Lord Francis Willoughby, together with the so-called "Queen Elizabeth" table cloth, the "Queen Anne" table cloth and other treasures of old England.

The chest was in the Raymond family, on Raymonds Hill, near Norwich, Connecticut, from 1710 to about 1870. Prior to 1704, it was at Block Island and now (1928), is in the Wadsworth Atheneum, at Hartford, Connecticut.

lands their lawful prey; that they carried off much precious booty, including art and treasure. And here is where the Sherman family steps into the story with tradition handed down from generation to generation, until it has reached Mr. Sherman. While it is tradition

only, at some points all the facts harmonize therewith so completely that they verify it as truth.

When the Spanish Armada sailed out of Corunna on its momentous mission, two of the ships carried with them, for the use of their officers, two of the finest of the Dutch chests acquired in this Spanish invasion of the Netherlands. There may have been aboard more of these valuable prizes, no one now knows, but there were at least two of them.

When the great disaster overtook the invaders through the attack of the comparatively insignificant English fleet, aided by the unprecedented storms at sea, the Spanish wrecks were strewn for hundreds of miles along the coasts of England, Scotland, Norway and Ireland. Nearly a hundred ships from the pompous fleet, which had claimed the dominion of the seas, were awash upon the rocky coasts.

These ships, naturally, were salvaged by the English and amongst the valuables saved, were these two Dutch chests, thereafter known as the "Armada Chests." One of these two chests came into the hands of Col. William Willoughby, an official in the British Naval Department, who had command of the Port of Portsmouth, and of whom Walter J. Sherman is a lineal descendant. Colonel Willoughby had been connected with the British Admiralty for years, first as Purveyor, then as Colonel of the City of London and finally as Commissioner of the Navy, stationed at Portsmouth. Dismantled and salvaged ships and their contents would, therefore, come under his control.

Colonel Willoughby died in 1651. His son, Sir Francis Willoughby, came to America and, 1655-1671,

was deputy to the Governor of Massachusetts. Upon the death of his mother, 1662, this chest and its family treasure contents fell to Sir Francis. From him the chest passed to his daughter, Susanna, who married Nathaniel Lynde, who took it to Saybrook, Connecticut, about 1683. The daughter, Sarah Lynde Raymond, removed it to Montville, Connecticut, about 1730, and coming down the years, Theodore Raymond transferred it to his residence, at Norwich, Connecticut, about 1860. Finally, it was taken to the Wadsworth Atheneum, at Hartford, Connecticut, by the Curator of Colonial Arts, Mr. William B. Goodwin, about 1924, where it has probably found its last resting place. All these years it has been known as the "Armada Chest."

This priceless antique is six feet, four inches in length, two feet, six and one-half inches high and two feet, three inches wide. It is most beautifully carved on the front and on the under side of the lid with *lions courant*, stately ladies and gentlemen, turreted castles and spires. The general effect is Dutch.

At the Lambeth Palace, London, the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, is the other (or another) Dutch chest which also has always been known as the "Armada Chest." How or when it found lodging in the palace is not known.

The palace is situated near one of the old "hithers" or landing places of the Thames. It came into possession of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1179. The oldest part of the present building, including the chapel in the Early English Style, was built by Archbishop Boniface—1244-1270. The Lollard's Tower, in which the Lollards were tortured and the Earl of Essex was

imprisoned, was built in 1434, and the great hall in 1663. The occupied portion was built in 1828-1848. The adjoining Church of St. Mary's, the oldest part of which dates from the fourteenth century, contains the tombs of several Archbishops, as does the palace chapel.

The chest, located in the library of the palace, was inspected by Professor and Mrs. E. E. Salisbury, in 1885, and is mentioned by them in their book, entitled *Family Histories and Genealogies*. When Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Sherman were in Europe in the fall of 1927, they also inspected the chest. The curator of the palace called it the "Armada Chest," but the records there throw no light upon when it was added to the palace treasures, and tell nothing of its origin. Unquestionably, it is of the same period, and was designed by the same school of Dutch artists or wood-workers as the American-owned chest. The size is nearly the same and it has many characteristics in common with the prize brought over by Sir Francis Willoughby.

Another interesting story is connected with the contents of the American-owned chest, brought to Boston in 1662, which have been distributed among various family descendants. Mr. Sherman's allotment was a so-called "Queen Elizabeth Table-Cloth," which he now possesses. The texture of the cloth is of the finest damask, ornamented with the "Tudor Padlock," the arms which belonged to the family of Princess Elizabeth. It was embroidered by her when she was a prisoner at Woodstock Palace and at Hatfield, in 1555. At this time a kinsman and an earlier Sir Francis Willoughby, whom later Elizabeth, as Queen, knighted, was Lord-in-Waiting to the Princess, his sister, Margaret, being

Lady-in-Waiting. The table-cloth is 53 inches long and 44 inches wide. It was presented by Elizabeth, when Queen, either to this Sir Francis or to his sister. It was handed down through the Willoughbys to Susanne Willoughby Lynde, and ultimately reached Mr. Sherman in the course of his family's lineal descent.



STORY OF THE FIRST GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF OHIO

1835 - 1842.

BY PAUL WAKELEE STODDARD*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The purpose of this paper is conceived to be the *story* of the First Geological Survey of Ohio, not the *findings* of the Survey, or the discoveries made. It deals with the rise and fall of popular sentiment, and the corresponding reaction in legislative halls. Moreover, this is legislative history—not social; for the latter, although far more valuable, is subtle and elusive. It is difficult to obtain and still more difficult to render accurate. So the essay is confined to the recital of actual events in chronological order, with occasional excursions into the personnel of, the public comment upon, and the results obtained from the Survey.

A bibliographical note is appended.

STORY OF THE FIRST GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF OHIO

“Before closing this communication,” wrote the Governor of Ohio, Robert Lucas, in his annual message to the State Legislature, on December 8, 1835,¹ rounding out one of those mouth-filling paragraphs so common in the American “Age of Oratory,” “I am im-

* B. A., Yale University, 1924. Graduate School, Yale University, December 15, 1927.

¹ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1835-36, 20.

pressed with the importance of calling the attention of the General Assembly to the subject of the geology of the State. For want of a correct knowledge of the geology of the State, large sums have been, at various periods, expended in useless searches after coal, iron, salt, gypsum, marble, and various other minerals. It is known that our country abounds in all the minerals above mentioned, with many others of great value. I would therefore respectfully submit the subject to your consideration, and solicit your enquiry into the importance of authorizing a general scientific geological survey of the State. Such a survey could not fail to furnish the State with a mass of information of the highest importance. Surveys of this character have been made under the State authorities in some of the Eastern States. Massachusetts has caused such a survey to be made, and has obtained and published under her authority, a scientific report of the geology, mineralogy, botany and zoölogy of that entire State . . . I therefore respectfully solicit your enquiry into the expediency and utility of authorizing a general geological survey of the State, by a scientific, practical Geologist, to be employed by the State for that purpose; whose duty it should be to make an accurate and detailed report, to the General Assembly, of his geological and mineralogical observations."

This statement as to the possibility of a geological survey is the first to be found in the official documents of the State of Ohio; yet it is probable that the idea of such an enterprise did not originate entirely with Governor Lucas, admirably progressive though he was. As his message said, other states, notably Massachusetts

and New Jersey, had begun extensive movements in this direction. Knowledge of the deposits of the valuable minerals in Ohio was becoming more widespread in the years after 1830, and the people were beginning to realize and to discuss the heretofore unsuspected wealth which was theirs. The newspapers, too, occasionally contained references to geology and to progress elsewhere. In its issue for November 28, 1835, *The Buckeye and Cincinnati Mirror*, for example, contained a brief news item²:

Professor Rogers has been appointed to make a geological survey of New Jersey. A geologist is kept regularly employed in the state of Tennessee, in making examinations into her mineral productions.

And in the same newspaper, some four months after the Governor's message had been delivered, appeared an article, in two parts, written by John Locke, eminent Ohio scientist, later to become a member of the geological survey. It was entitled *Geology*,³ and attempted to explain the subject so that the man in the street might read and understand.

Even as far back as 1832, however, the subject had been considered, but not with reference to a survey financed by the State. The Honorable Benjamin Tappan, for example, delivered an address before the "Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio," on December 22, 1832,⁴ in which he urged that organization to commence the work with the expectation that the State might finish it in the years to come:

The Geology of Ohio also remains an unexplored field. . . . The portion of country to be described must be carefully exam-

² *The Buckeye and Cincinnati Mirror*, V, No. 5, 39.

³ *Ibid.*, V, Nos. 14, 16; April 30, March 14, 1836.

⁴ Quoted, Ohio, *Report of the Select Committee*, 15-18.

ined. . . . We want Geological maps and descriptive memoirs of every county in the State. . . . To obtain and disseminate all the facts which may, from time to time, be discovered as to the rich minerals of the State, will probably always be an object of importance to this society.

The professional geologists were also in sympathy with the idea. In March, 1836, there appeared an essay by John L. Riddell, "Adjunct Professor of Chemistry, etc., in Cincinnati College," entitled *Remarks on the Geological Features of Ohio, and Some of the Desiderata Which Might Be Supplied By a Geological Survey of the State*.⁵ In the article, Professor Riddell summed up the knowledge then available of coal, iron, and salt, recorded his own observations, and concluded with these words:

In prosecuting a geological exploration of the State, the qualities of mineral springs should be investigated; not only on account of their own intrinsic importance, but because they afford unerring indications respecting the nature of the strata through which they pass.

Many *tumuli* and other lesser monuments of antiquity, are scattered over our territory, which have never yet been noticed. These objects I imagine might very properly be embraced in a geological survey of the State.

Especial cognizance should be taken of the forest trees and other vegetable productions. The native plants that spring up from a soil often afford sure criteria by which to judge of its quality. . . . They should receive a share of attention.

The matter of a geological survey was promptly taken up in the House of Representatives; later in the same day on which the governor's message was delivered the *Journal* reads:⁶

The House took up the Message of His Excellency, the Governor.

Mr. Creed then moved that so much of the Message as

⁵ *Western Monthly Magazine*, March, 1836.

⁶ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1835-36, 146.

related to a Geological and Mineralogical Survey of the State be referred to a select committee of three members; which was agreed to.

Whereupon, the Speaker announced Messrs. Creed, Cushing and Lyman as said committee.

Nearly two months passed before a report was ready to be presented to the House, but Creed finally read it on Tuesday, February 2, 1836,⁷ and the Senate was likewise informed.⁸ According to the report:⁹

The Committee have had the same under consideration and now report: That they readily concur in the views expressed by the Executive, that it is a subject eminently deserving legislative action, and one, if properly investigated, that cannot fail to afford a mass of valuable information. The committee deems it a matter of regret that public attention has not, at an earlier period, been directed to a consideration of the expediency of such a survey.

Six reasons were advanced for the carrying out of the survey:

(1) It would show the extent of the deposits already known to exist.

(2) It would disclose new localities of minerals now known.

(3) It would show the probability of the existence of *other* valuable minerals and ores.

(4) It would prevent the useless waste of capital.

(5) It would aid the agricultural interests of the state.

(6) It would diffuse correct information among all classes of citizens.

Finally, a definite resolution was offered:

Resolved that.....and.....be appointed to make out a Geological and Mineralogical Survey of the State of Ohio, and report the same to the next Legislature.

Appended to the main report, were three short articles designed to corroborate the statements of the committee. One was by the eminent geologist, Featherston-

⁷ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1835-36, 574.

⁸ Ohio, *Senate Journal*, 1835-36, 592.

⁹ Ohio, *Report of the Select Committee*, 1-18 [separate pamphlet].

haugh, who had previously done work in the vicinity; the second was a treatise on geology by J. A. Lapham; and the third, a lengthy quotation from the address of Hon. Benjamin Tappan, delivered three years previously, to which reference has already been made. Perhaps the paragraphs of greatest interest were these, by Mr. Lapham:

These fossil remains, like the temples of ancient Greece, serve to illustrate the former history of the earth. The geologist is carried back in imagination, to the period, long anterior to the creation of man, when the earth was "without form and void," and when the waters covered the earth; and he can there study the very animals that inhabited the "great deep" . . . He can trace the effects of the flood that afterwards swept over the whole world, and covered the highest mountains; and can examine the remains of animals that existed before that catastrophe.

In a footnote, he explained:

The opinion here expressed, of the great age of the globe, is adopted by many eminent divines of the present day, and might be shown to agree with the Mosaic account of the creation; for it is evident that the *days* there spoken of, were indefinite periods of time, having some definite beginning and ending; and during which a certain order of things prevailed, different from that which preceded or that which succeeded it.

Legislative processes in Ohio, in 1836, apparently moved no faster than do similar actions today. The bill passed through the usual stages until it was finally passed¹⁰ and sent to the Senate on March 5, 1836.¹¹ The Senate received it,¹² but here came the first hindrance to its passage, for a week later, on March 14, is found the following entry:¹³

¹⁰ By a vote of 58 to 3. Those who voted in the negative were Armstrong, Blackburn of Columbiana, and Robbins.

¹¹ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1835-36, 596, 817, 821.

¹² Ohio, *Senate Journal*, 1835-36, 871, 880.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 977

Mr. Price, from the select committee [this was the committee of the Senate, consisting of Messrs. Price, James and Sharp, appointed at the same time as that of the House]¹⁴ . . . reported a resolution appointing Samuel P. Hildreth, of Marietta, John Locke and John S. Riddell, of Cincinnati, and J. A. Lapham, of Columbus, to report to the next Legislature the best method of obtaining a complete Geological Survey of the State, and an estimate of the probable cost of the same; which was agreed to and ordered to the House of Representatives for concurrence.

On the same day this resolution was passed by the House,¹⁵ and, becoming law, ended the question of a geological survey during the session of 1835-1836. It was evidently thought that too hasty action, without knowledge of the proper procedure, might prove to be simply a waste of state money.

When the Legislature convened in the fall of 1836, the geological survey again claimed its share of attention¹⁶ in the message of Governor Lucas, who, a week later, was to retire in favor of Joseph Vance.¹⁷ He urged the prosecution of the survey, and emphasized the great benefit to be derived therefrom. In a document appended,¹⁸ he conveyed to the Legislature a joint resolution of the Legislature of Indiana, together with a communication from the Governor, to ascertain upon what terms Ohio and Kentucky would join in the enterprise with Indiana. So far as can be found in the *Journals* of the Legislature, no action upon this communication was taken. In another document, of which six hundred copies were ordered printed for distribution for a variety of purposes,¹⁹ the Select Committee appointed

¹⁴ Ohio, *Senate Journal*, 1835-36, 154.

¹⁵ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1835-36, 928.

¹⁶ Ohio, *State Papers*, 1836-37, I, 18.

¹⁷ Inaugurated December 13, 1836.

¹⁸ Ohio, *State Papers*, 1836-37, app. 56.

¹⁹ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1836-37, 27, 39; *Senate Journal*, 22, 23.

by the preceding Legislature, on March 14, 1836, rendered its report as to the best method of obtaining a geological survey of the State.²⁰

The committee had visited in person, said the report, many portions of the State, especially those known to contain considerable quantities of coal, iron, and salt. The information concerning the minerals in such parts of Ohio as the committee found itself unable to investigate thoroughly, was largely obtained from "intelligent individuals." The iron ore deposits were described in detail and illustrated by diagrams, the summary concluding with a list and description of the furnaces and forges in Scioto and Lawrence Counties. The coal and salt deposits were mentioned, but not in such great detail. But the important section of the report deals with the best method of conducting the survey, and its cost.

In the opinion of your Committee, the better mode of conducting the survey will be by constituting a Geological Board of three members who should direct the manner of proceeding; employ suitable geologists, etc., with power to draw on the Treasurer, for the deposits annually appropriated for this purpose; or otherwise, the present Board of Public Works might perform this duty, as might be deemed most expedient.

From a correspondence held by the chairman with several distinguished and practical men in geology, your committee is led to believe that the sum of 12,000 dollars, for four years, would cover the cost of a regular scientific survey. It would require the services of one head, or principal geologist, five assistant geologists, one draughtsman and one naturalist. Their salaries, traveling expenses, and other incidental charges would amount to nearly this sum. The survey, to be complete and most useful to the community, ought not only to embrace the simple geology, but also the topography, botany, so far as to include a list of the plants found in the State, forest trees, river and land shells, fishes, birds, quadrupeds and reptiles—and last, not least, a regular survey and description of all the rem-

²⁰ Ohio, *Report of the Special Committee*, 1-18 [Separate pamphlet].

nants of ancient works, yet spared by the destroyer, within the State. . . . It should also be enjoined on the surveyors to collect all the remains of art belonging to this race

The report concluded with Dr. Locke's "Analysis of the Lime-stone of Cincinnati and Dayton"; and a treatise on "The Application of the Hot Blast," by Thomas Clark, M. D.

On the day following that on which the message of the Governor was delivered, a new committee was appointed by the House,²¹ to consist of Messrs. Humphreys, Curry and Perkins; their report, containing the bill in nearly its final form, was presented on January 7, 1837.²² On March 9, Governor Vance presented Professor Riddell's "Report on the Geology of Ohio by Counties," a paper which had been delayed because of the author's removal to Louisiana.²³ The next day, the bill came up for discussion and seems to have caused a bitter fight upon the floor of the House, chiefly because of the words "per annum" following the appropriation.²⁴ It was sent back to the committee, to be reported back the next morning. Another argument ensued on March 11, all reference to the traveling expenses of officers being stricken out before the bill was ready finally to be voted upon. It was passed by a margin of sixteen votes (41 to 25), practically every member from the counties rich in minerals being recorded in favor of the bill.²⁵ The journey through the Senate was uneventful, though various amendments were added and agreed upon by the House. The vote

²¹ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1836-37, 14.

²² *Ibid.*, 196.

²³ *Ibid.*, 628, 629, 633.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 641.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 641, 725, 726.

was taken on March 21, and was far more decisive than in the other house, 28 to 2.²⁶ When the Governor's signature was affixed on March 27, 1837, the bill providing for the First Geological Survey of Ohio became law.

And what were the provisions of the bill? They were six in number, practically identical with the recommendations in the report of the committee the preceding December. The various sections provided that:

(1) The State should conduct a Geological and Mineralogical Survey of Ohio.

(2) The State should employ a geologist and assistants, to be appointed by the Governor.

(3) The geologist should render an annual report on February 1, during each year of the Survey.

(4) That the sum of \$12,000 should be appropriated.

(5) That a final report should be rendered at the completion of the work; and

(6) That the specimens obtained during the Survey should be preserved and catalogued.²⁷

So the law became effective.

Nine months later, in his annual message to the Legislature, Governor Vance recorded the progress of the Survey:²⁸

In compliance with the "Act Providing for a Geological Survey of the State of Ohio, and Other Purposes," passed the 27th of March, 1837, I have appointed W. W. Mather, of the State of New York, as principal Geologist, and Drs. Hildreth, Kirtland, and Locke, of Ohio, and Professor Briggs, of New York, as assistants, and Charles Whittlesey, of Ohio, Topographical Surveyor and Draughtsman. Dr. Locke being absent at the time of his appointment, his place was supplied by the appointment of Mr. Foster, who has been in active duty with Professor Briggs in making examinations in the southern portion of the

²⁶ Ohio, *Senate Journal*, 1836-37, 557, 567, 585, 606, 627. Those who voted negative were Arbuckle, of Fayette, Madison, and Greene Counties, and Thompson, of Carroll and Columbiana.

²⁷ *Laws of Ohio*, XXXV, 84.

²⁸ Ohio, *State Papers*, 1837-38, I, 23.

State. Owing to a previous engagement, the principal Geologist has been unable to give his whole attention to the subject the past season. He has, however, given direction to the assistant Geologists and made preparation, by the purchase of apparatus, etc., which will enable the corps to prosecute their researches in the next year with vigor and effect. A report of their progress, thus far, will be laid before you at as early a day as possible.

The persons appointed by the Governor were eminently qualified for the task before them. William Williams Mather, chief geologist, was a direct descendant of Cotton Mather, and a native of Connecticut. He had graduated from West Point with honors in chemistry and mineralogy, and served in the army for eight years. During one of his vacations, he superintended a geological survey of Windham County, Connecticut, and because he liked the work so well, he resigned from the military service to undertake an assistantship in the survey of New York. In later years, he surveyed Kentucky and when the Ohio Survey was finished, became a citizen of Jackson County in that State. At various times he was professor at Wesleyan University, Marietta College, and the University of Ohio, and an editor of repute.

Professor Mather's chief assistant was Samuel P. Hildreth, of Ohio, an intimate friend of Silliman, of Yale. He was a native of Massachusetts, a physician by profession, and a geologist by avocation. Hildreth had been chosen by the Legislature to report upon the project of a survey, and it was this report, of course, that was directly responsible for his appointment to the survey itself a year later. Much of his time was devoted to antiquities and to his *Pioneer History of Ohio*. Professor Silliman announced in the *American Journal*

of *Science and Arts* that Professor Hildreth's article on the coal of Ohio, published in that magazine a short time previously, had been "highly commended in the *London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine*, and an abstract given of its contents." ²⁹ Dr. Jared P. Kirtland and Dr. J. N. Foster were the other two members of the staff, with no especial duties assigned them. Dr. Kirtland was another New Englander, a native of Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale. After his removal to Ohio, he was placed in charge of the public schools in Poland, and continued his practice as a physician. As a naturalist, he was self-educated, but his observations of animal and plant life were so acute, and his knowledge so accurate that his conclusions were readily accepted by scientists. His colleague, J. N. Foster, was a lawyer of Zanesville. Dr. Foster had been a pupil of Mather, at Wesleyan, where he developed ability as a naturalist and scientist and commended himself to Mather's attention. After the Ohio Survey was over, he investigated the coal fields of Indiana and Illinois, and the copper regions of Michigan. During the last years of his life, he was much interested in the mound-builders of the Mississippi Valley.

The last two members of the survey corps were Caleb Briggs and Charles Whittlesey. Briggs was also an intimate friend of Mather, a fact which led to his appointment. He was a physician, much interested in chemistry, and a man to whom geology was a matter of absorbing interest. When the survey of Ohio terminated, he was engaged to aid in the survey of what is now West Virginia. He purchased, late in life, some

²⁹ *American Journal of Science and Arts*, XXIX, 1; XXX, 400.

valuable mineral lands in Ohio, but before his death returned to his native Massachusetts. Another Connecticut man in a group composed almost entirely of New Englanders, was Charles Whittlesey, native of the town of Southington. After his graduation from West Point, in 1831, and his subsequent service in the Black Hawk War, he did editorial work for a while on the *Cleveland Herald*. It was here that his scientific writings began to attract attention, and his appointment as surveyor and draughtsman in the Survey naturally followed. From 1847 to 1851, he was engaged in the geological survey of the Lake Superior region, and ten years later joined the army as an engineer. Before his death, Whittlesey was elected president of the Ohio Historical Society and published more than two hundred articles, mostly on scientific subjects. He was also the historian of the Survey. So it can be truly said that when their names are coupled together, the men of the geological corps of Ohio form a distinguished group.

The report referred to in the Governor's message was submitted to the Legislature on January 17, 1838.³⁰ Aside from the geological features, the most important part of the report was perhaps the estimate of expenses for the future, since this was the section destined to cause the most discussion.

If the present organization be continued, as under the existing act, the necessary appropriation for the current year will be \$12,000.

If the suggestion, above-mentioned, for increasing the corps (that is, by adding another permanent assistant, and employing others as occasion arose) be adopted, it will be necessary to increase the appropriation for the current year to \$16,000.

If the Topographical Survey of the State be continued, as

³⁰ Ohio, *State Papers*, 1837-38, XXVI, 1-134.

at present, no expense above the appropriation mentioned will be incurred; but if the State be *triangulated*, for the Topographical Survey, the appropriation for the current year should be \$30,000.³¹

It was not long before the effect of this report was felt in the Legislature. On February 27, the Committee on Finance in the Senate reported a bill to amend the Geological Act of March 27, 1837.³² Exactly what this bill contained is not known, for it is not recorded in the legislative journals, nor, since it failed to pass, is it recorded in the *Laws of Ohio*. It probably continued the appropriation of the previous year. On March 2, the bill was passed by the Senate—21 to 12. But the House offered an amendment, for which the Senate substituted three others, only two of which were agreed to. When the amended bill was returned to the House, that body placed it on the table, and kept it there until so close to the final adjournment that the Senate requested its return, evidently that the amendment might be repealed and the bill “shoved through.” This the House declined to do and it remained upon the table. At the last moment, however, it was sent to conference, at which the Senate members proposed that the bill be amended to include an appropriation of \$8,000 to continue the work of the Geological Survey. When the majority of members of the committee refused to accede to this proposal, the Senate substituted \$5,000. Again this failed of ratification, and the conference committee was obliged to report that they were unable to agree. When this news was received in the Senate, it was voted that the Senate recede from its amendment “by

³¹ On January 27, 1838, the names and salaries of the Geological Board were read to the House. (*Journal*, 1837-38, 342-345.)

³² Ohio, *Senate Journal*, 1837-38, 509, 530, 538, 705, 741, 763, 765, 767.

way of rider"; and that the House be so informed. Before further action could be taken, however, the Legislature adjourned *sine die*, late on the night of March 19, 1838. So it happened that the Geological Survey entered upon its second year with a fund consisting only of the balance of \$12,000, left over from the previous season.

What were the reasons for this sudden change of heart on the part of legislators, who less than a year before, had voted so enthusiastically in favor of a survey? Of course, there can be little doubt but that the Panic of 1837 had considerable influence upon those who held the purse-strings of the State. But a more serious reason might be deduced from the Resolution of the House of Representatives on March 15, 1838, four days before the final end of the matter, inquiring

Whether any member of the geological corps, in consequence of information derived from examinations they have made, purchased either directly or indirectly any land, mineral resources of which have been developed by survey; giving account of amount and location of lands made by themselves and others by their advice.

The fact that a lengthy denial³³ was made did not altogether lessen apprehension, and may have been a deciding factor in the matter of appropriations. At any rate, the combination of politics and lack of finances effectively called a halt to any forward steps in the Ohio survey.

When the next December arrived, Governor Vance made one final attempt to influence the Legislature before his departure from office. In his Annual Message, he reminded his audience that the appropriation for the support of a geological corps had failed at the last ses-

³³ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1837-38, 814-816.

sion of the Legislature; but that a portion had been kept on duty by an unexpended balance from the former appropriation. The Survey, he urged, was too important to be stopped short of its original design.³⁴ On December 6, a new committee was appointed in the House to recommend further action.³⁵ Before the report of this committee was ready, the Second Annual Report of the Geological Survey was presented on December 18. Professor Mather's plea for appropriations to carry on the work was in the nature of a hopeless appeal:

There are many places which have come under our examination during the progress of the Survey, where the expenditure of a small sum of money, say from \$10 to \$100 in each locality, would settle questions of greater or less importance, such as determining the presence of expected valuable minerals, the junctions of rocks, the superposition, amount of dip, and various other points, where natural or artificial facilities, such as ravines, mines, excavations for wells, railroads, etc., did not exist. These questions often involve important economical results to the community, and it is deemed of sufficient moment to induce me to lay the matter before the Legislature, that they may, if they should deem it expedient, place a small additional fund at the disposal of the geologist for application to such purposes.

There are several other sources of contingent expenses that ought to be provided for; such as rent of laboratory, fuel, apparatus and materials, instruments for the different departments of the survey, boxes and transport for the specimens which are collected in obedience to the requisitions of the law for the Survey, procuring temporary local assistance in the topographical and other departments, and various other items which it is not necessary to mention.

At the last session, the Governor was authorized to expend \$1,000 for geological books to go into the State Library for aiding in the Geological Survey, and which ought to be in every public library, but as this amount was expected to be disbursed from

³⁴ Ohio, *State Papers*, 1838-39, 1.

³⁵ The committee consisted of Hughes, Smucker, Waddie, Ford, and Patterson. On December 11, Briggs was substituted for Hughes. (Ohio, *House Journal*, 1838-39, 25, 52.)

the appropriation for the Geological Survey, and as that appropriation was not made, the books have not been procured or ordered, and cannot be until the funds for their purchase shall have been appropriated. . . .

That estimate, viz.: \$16,000, if adopted by the Legislature, will be sufficient for the current annual expenses including all the contingencies enumerated.³⁶

Five thousand copies of the report were ordered printed on December 22, and it was referred to the committee.³⁷ Professor Locke's section of the report was delayed, not being read until the 28th, two days after the committee had filed its report and recommendations for a future course of action.³⁸

Smucker, of Licking County, was the chairman of the committee. In its report, the history of the survey was traced from 1835 — Governor Lucas's message — down to the date of the legislative action of 1838. The similar activities in other states, notably Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Tennessee, were recorded, before the investigators delved into the reasons for continuing the Survey. Much valuable mineral wealth had already been found by accident, they said, and what might not still be discovered with the aid and direction of geology? "Ohio seems to be almost entirely underlaid with minerals," they thought, "and your committee is led to believe that the geological corps, if authorized to continue their operations, would bring to light numerous deposits of coal, iron and other valuable minerals now unknown, which would tend to increase emigration to our State — bring among us capitalists and manufacturers — expedite the sale of the public domain

³⁶ Ohio, *State Papers*, 1838-39, XXII, 25-26.

³⁷ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1838-39, 103, 120, 134, 144.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Appendix, 8-13.

within our borders, and consequently extend our list of taxable lands, and largely increase our physical strength, and our fiscal, moral, and intellectual wealth." The continuance of the Survey was recommended, and twelve thousand dollars was thought to be a suitable sum as an appropriation.

In spite of this enthusiastic report, the bill met with considerable difficulty on its way through the two Houses. On February 11, it was taken up in the House, but tabled,³⁹ after three votes on the question had been taken. On March 8, an attempt was made to insert, as a rider to a bill providing for a new State-house, a provision for six thousand dollars for survey purposes; this, however, did not meet with the favor of the House, and a substitute motion finally prevailed — to provide not over four thousand dollars "for the payment of arrearages for services of the geological corps, and for procuring engravings." On March 13, a resolution was passed by the House, which ordered that all the books, papers, instruments, apparatus, and collections of every description whatever, be deposited for safe-keeping with the Ohio Historical Society. Three days later the Senate agreed,⁴⁰ thus ending all discussion of a survey during that session. One-third of the appropriation had been granted, but only for the purpose of paying the *debts* of the geological corps — not for advance employment of the staff.

When the Legislature of 1838-39 failed to pass further appropriations for the work of the Geological Survey, the death-knell of the enterprise was sounded. Oc-

³⁹ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1838-39, 428, 429, 681, 682, 740, 797.

⁴⁰ Ohio, *Senate Journal*, 1838-39, 625.

casional echoes still were heard, but from that time forth activity practically ceased. In Governor Corwin's message, in December, 1841, he announced that the specimens procured during the survey were labeled and ready for distribution to literary institutions; then urged the propriety of continuing the Survey, especially in reference to the agricultural interests of the State.⁴¹ The matter was referred to the Committee on Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce, which reported February 25, 1842:⁴²

That however desirable it might be, under different circumstances, to prosecute to completion the geological survey of the State, the present exigencies of our financial affairs would seem to forbid any appropriation for that purpose at present. In the opinion of your committee, the inquiry should not be how much money can be expended in prosecuting public enterprises, but should rather be limited to the promotion and prosecution of such interests as are indispensable to the welfare of the great body of the people, and without which the public service must be subjected to some serious disadvantage. The geological survey of the State does not, in the opinion of your committee, come within the limits of the latter consideration, and they would, therefore, ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

As directed by the provisions of the original Geological Act, Professor Mather, on February 25, 1842, presented to the Legislature "a catalogue of geological specimens, collected on the late Survey of the State," which was accepted and filed, thus bringing to an official close the entire matter of the first survey.⁴³

There seem to be three questions which demand answers as the first survey draws to a close. What were the results? What were the reasons for the failure?

⁴¹ Ohio, *State Papers*, 1841-42, I, 11.

⁴² Ohio, *Senate Journal*, 1841-42, 467.

⁴³ Ohio, *Executive Documents*, 1841-42, Pt. 2, LXXVI.

What harm resulted from the inactivity which followed? Considering the first question, it is perhaps not enough to say that the reports were good or that the results were carefully recorded. They gave, instead, promise of enormous future wealth for the State. Consider, for example, this quotation from the first report, with regard to the resources of coal in the State:

The working of the coal mines of Ohio, which may be considered inexhaustible, must become one of the most productive branches of industry of the State. From the reconnaissance of the past season, it is estimated that about 12,000 square miles of the State are undoubtedly underlain by coal, and 5,000 by workable beds of this valuable material. In many places, several successive beds of the coal are superimposed one over the other, with sandstone, iron ore, shale and limestone intervening. The coal beds are favorably situated for working, as they are found in the hills and ravines suitable for draining, and without deep shafts and expensive machinery, like those in Europe. It is impossible, with the data as yet ascertained, to estimate the amount of workable beds, but probably a mean thickness of 6 feet of coal capable of exploration over 5,000 square miles, is a moderate estimate. Our citizens are not yet aware of the prospective value of coal lands and, it is, perhaps, only by setting forth their practical utility, that they will appreciate the importance of this mineral on their estates.⁴⁴

And in such a manner were iron and the other valuable products of Ohio listed, together with their probable quantities, certainly sufficient to arouse the State to the possible value of the land.

In general, it can be said that the two reports of the Survey contained a mass of well-digested facts. Technical terms and idle speculations were neatly avoided, that "he who runs may read," and be not confused. Professor Mather's section of the first report contained a description of the principal formations of

⁴⁴ Mather, *First Annual Report on the Geological Survey of Ohio*, 6.

the State. Among other things, he called attention to the assaults made by Lake Erie on the shore at Cleveland, and feared that in the course of a century or two, the site of the city would be entirely removed. Dr. Hildreth, first assistant, reported upon the range and extent, as well as the economic value of the "calcareo — silicious deposit." The report of Briggs and Foster embraced all the economic facts collected on the detailed survey of the southern portion of the State. Among the most interesting details were those respecting the fossil elephant discovered during the course of their investigations. Whittlesey's topographical report was last. He included a description of the ancient "works and remains" in Ohio, namely at Marietta and Portsmouth, and those in Ross County. "No portion of Ohio," he said, "seems to be destitute of ancient tumuli and embankments; the object and origin of which are still, in a great measure, mysterious and unknown."

The second report was published in the last days of 1838. The Survey had proceeded, it said, but because of the lack of sufficient funds, it had been necessary to dispense with two assistants. Because an impression had gone abroad that no part of the State would benefit from a survey except the coal and iron regions, particular attention was directed to the counties which were not expected to reap any benefits. The result was what might have been surmised; namely, that the development of marl, clay, peat, and limestone was adapted to many useful purposes, such as for lime, building stone, and marble. Among the subjects covered in the report were brick manufacture, the rise and fall of Lake Erie, variation of the magnetic needle, mineral springs, and salt-

wells. The geology of the State was taken up by counties, with dozens of diagrams contributing their explanations. The conclusion of the report was in the form of a list of barometrical observations for determining altitude. But quite aside from these details, interesting though they may be, the emphasis upon iron and coal was continued; indeed it was accentuated to such a degree that today there are few people who would not say that the discontinuance of the Geological Survey of Ohio was an action dictated by gross short-sightedness.

What were the reasons for its failure? They seem to have been three in number, that most commonly given being the Panic of 1837. J. S. Newberry, in a brief historical sketch prefaced to the Report of the Second Survey, in 1869, said that:

In consequence of the financial panic of 1837, and the paralysis of business that followed, it was considered necessary to diminish, in every possible way, the public expenditure, and, accordingly, the Legislature of 1838-39, made no appropriation. . . .⁴⁵

Two other possible causes for failure have been listed, however, by less official sources. G. P. Merrill, in his *First Hundred Years of American Geology*, says:⁴⁶

The survey lasted two years, seeming to have fallen through on account of local jealousies. Mather showed here, as in his later work on the New York Survey, a singular lack of discrimination as to the comparative value of the different subjects with which he had to deal.

This hint of fault in the personnel has appeared before in the Resolution of the House concerning a

⁴⁵ Ohio, *Second Geological Survey of Ohio*, Columbus, 1870, 5.

⁴⁶ Merrill, G. P., *First Hundred Years of American Geology*, New Haven, 1924, 71.

possible misuse of information by the geologist and his assistants. Professor Silliman, however, gave still another reason as the chief cause of the Survey's suspension:

By a letter from Columbus, we regret to learn that the Survey is just suspended, and party grounds are assigned as the cause! On such a subject, there should be but one party! The noble State of Ohio must and will vindicate her honor and her interest by resuming and finishing this great work so ably begun, and carried forward with so much spirit and success! ⁴⁷

And it has been noticed before, how rivalry between counties and jealousy in matters of local interest were apparent in the voting on the various bills. Certainly, other reasons than the Panic of 1837 played a prominent part in the discontinuance of the Survey.

What harm was done by the resulting inactivity? The development of the mineral resources of the State was greatly retarded and diverted from public into private hands. There can be very little doubt that for private investigations of territory supposed to contain minerals, and for analyses of coal and iron, far more money was paid than would have sufficed to complete the public Survey of 1837-38. All the information thus gained, was, however, monopolized by those who paid for it, and instead of enlightening the landholder as to the abundance and value of the minerals his land contained, it more often served the purposes of the speculator, guiding his purchases and placing the farmer quite at his mercy. The benefits derived from the first year of the Survey undoubtedly brought to light the fact that it was not a consumer, but a producer; and that it added far more than it took from the public treasury.

⁴⁷ *American Journal of Science and Arts*, 1838, XXXIV, 198.
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What few reports there were, served to arrest the useless expenditure of money in the search for minerals outside of their actual territories.

One final aspect of the survey question which should be considered here, though it touches upon social history, is the attitude of the scientific man and the attitude of the layman toward it. This idea was suggested by a volume in the Yale Library, formerly in the possession of Professor Benjamin Silliman. It contains a number of the committee reports connected with the Ohio Survey of the "Thirties." On the title-page of Dr. Hildreth's report on the best method of obtaining the survey, are two inscriptions. The first is in Hildreth's handwriting: "To B. Silliman, M. D., New Haven, Connecticut — with the respects of his friend S. P. Hildreth." Just below is recorded Silliman's response: "Read Mar. 8 and a notice framed up for the *Am. Jour'l.*" If Professor Silliman was interested in such a report, others might well be, also. But little else was found, since only one newspaper printed in Ohio in those years was available, and there were almost no scientific journals of any repute which had been started by 1837, with the exception, of course, of Professor Silliman's own, *The American Journal of Science and Arts*. It was necessary, therefore, to gain all the information from these two sources, but it is very probably true that the ideas contained in the newspaper were representative of the trend of thought among the laymen, while the magazine gave a typical opinion of the professional geologists.

In *The Buckeye and Cincinnati Mirror*, then, in December, 1835, appeared this news-item:

The Legislature of Ohio convened at Columbus on the 7th instant. The annual message of the Governor was read on the eighth. It is a plain, sensible and interesting document. . . . He concludes his very full and interesting message, by urging upon the attention of the General Assembly, the propriety and importance of an early Geological Survey of the State.⁴⁸

In the same issue appeared a communication on the subject, signed "D. B.":

The proposition for a Geological and Mineralogical Survey of the State of Ohio, under legislative sanction, is gaining favor. It is understood that the subject will be brought before the General Assembly at an early period in the present session. The beneficial results that would follow a scientific reconnaissance of our State are so numerous, and so obviously important to every class of citizens that it is not to be supposed any objections will be lodged against the measure. A knowledge of the existence and localities of the various mineral bodies, such as iron, coal, salt, gypsum, slate, clay, sand and the various substances which are found in the earth, and necessary or useful in the arts which minister to the comforts and luxuries of life, is a matter of the first importance.

Connected with the proposed survey, there should be an examination of the mineral springs, the medicinal plants, and the forest trees, especially the latter, so far, at least, as they are useful in the mechanic arts. . . . And it should be made the duty of the individual who may be selected to perform this important work, to survey and to describe, both by words and drawings, the ancient mounds and fortifications of a bygone period, which are scattered over the State. . . . How appropriate that a scientific survey of that soil should be made to embrace them! We earnestly urge it upon those who may bring the proposed survey before the Legislature of Ohio, not to neglect these singular relics of ancient days.⁴⁹

The editor commented as follows:

It is an important subject, and we are glad our friend "B. D." has determined to keep it in view.⁵⁰

The final mention of the subject was the following editorial:

⁴⁸ *The Buckeye and Cincinnati Mirror*, V, No. 8., p. 62.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Geological Survey—"In the March number of the *Western Monthly Magazine*, among other interesting articles, is one by I. L. Riddell, M. D., on the *Geological Features of Ohio*. In this paper many important advantages which would probably result to the State from a geological survey are pointed out with much clearness and ability. The propriety of appointing a suitable person for the purpose of making such a survey, has been agitated at Columbus during the present session of the Legislature; and it is to be regretted that no such appointment has been made. In many sections of Ohio, there are indications of the existence of various mineral substances—of salt, coal, lead, iron, etc., which demand attention. Certainly, if the Legislature had restricted the sphere of its operations to the limits of our own State, the people of whom it is representative could have derived quite as much benefit from its wisdom. The fact, that our soil embowels minerals of immense importance to our prosperity, is, in our opinion, a sufficient reason why the survey should be ordered."⁶¹

Since it is probable that all editorials in *The American Journal of Science and Arts* were written by Professor Silliman himself, they bore the stamp of authority. The chief reference is the notice referred to on the title-page in question, written after the receipt of the first Hildreth report:

This report is the result of reconnaissance of the State of Ohio, under the direction of Dr. Hildreth, whose eminent qualifications for the discharge of this duty have been often made apparent in the pages of this *Journal*. The prevailing argument with popular legislators, namely that of utility, in the sense of pecuniary advantage, is fully sustained in this preliminary report. Immense quantities of coal, of iron ore, of limestone, of gypsum, clay, sandstone, marl, and salt are found in Ohio, and in situations exceedingly accessible and favorable for transportation. All this has been abundantly proved by Dr. Hildreth in previous volumes of this *Journal*; but it was necessary to review the subject, and to exhibit it in a lucid and popular form to the Legislature and the public. This has been ably done in the report now under consideration—and it is not to be presumed that the local government will permit this most important enterprise to fail, or to remain in an unfinished state, especially

⁶¹ *The Buckeye and Cincinnati Mirror*, V, No. 8, p. 63.

in the hands of gentlemen of competent knowledge, talent and zeal.⁵²

Shortly after the appearance of this editorial, came a note concerning Dr. Hildreth's continued ill-health, making it necessary for him to withdraw from the field:

Ohio is eminently a vast region of organic remains and even its human antiquities arrest the attention of the geologist as well as of the antiquary. Both states are in the course of survey by very able men, but we are extremely sorry to see that Dr. Hildreth, who worked early and almost alone, who worked hard, and who worked well, has withdrawn from the Survey, and we are still more sorry to observe that ill-health is the cause; for his country's sake and his own, may he soon be well again! ⁵³

And finally, in the issue of July, 1838, appeared a review of the First Geological Report, detailing with much exactness, the discoveries of the survey.⁵⁴ Certainly the work of the geological corps lacked no support either in the popular newspapers or in the scientific journals.

The story of the efforts during the next thirty years to secure another geological survey is a story of earnest endeavor and blasted hopes. The report of the Board of Agriculture, in 1851, again emphasized the benefit that such a survey would be to agriculture. New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, and Maryland were cited as examples of states where great good had resulted. In 1854, a select committee reported to the House of Representatives the Scott Bill, which provided for a new Geological Survey of Ohio;⁵⁵ but nothing came of it. Following another recommendation by the Board of Agriculture, in 1855, a similar committee the next year

⁵² *American Journal of Science and Arts*, XXXII, 190.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 198.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 347-364.

⁵⁵ *Ohio, House Journal*, 1853-54, app., 331-340.

reported back the Thompson Bill,⁵⁶ with similar results. In 1857 and 1858, other reports of the Board of Agriculture carried identical pleas, and Governor Salmon P. Chase, in his message of January, 1857, also suggested a resumption of the Geological Survey.⁵⁷ When he found that nothing had been done, Governor William Dennison, Jr., repeated the suggestion in 1860, and General Garfield was appointed chairman of the committee. It was not until 1868, however, that anything definite took place; in that year Governor Rutherford B. Hayes aroused public opinion to such an extent that the demand for a second survey became insistent and the bill which established it was adopted in 1869. The Survey was prosecuted with vigor and the results were far-reaching and wide-spread. It is almost true to say, in fact, that this was the first *real* survey of Ohio, and that the previous one, of 1837-38, was merely a geological reconnaissance.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Since this essay is largely legislative history, of course the most important source of information has been the Legislative Journals of the State of Ohio. The *House Journals* of 1835-36, 1836-37, 1837-38, 1838-39, 1841-42, 1853-54 and 1856-57 were utilized as well as the *Senate Journals* of 1835-36, 1836-37, 1838-39 and 1841-42. The official *State Papers* (later called *Executive Documents*) of 1836-37, 1837-38, 1838-39, 1841-42 and 1857 also proved valuable. A few separate pamphlets, such as the *Report of the Select Committee* (1835-36), and the *Report of the Special Committee* (1836-37), were discovered and quotations therefrom used. The *Laws of Ohio*, XXXV, contained the *Geological Act* of 1837.

⁵⁶ Ohio, *House Journal*, 1856-57, 100.

⁵⁷ Ohio, *Executive Documents*, 1857, I, 9.

Among the other books which contained useful reference material were Hasse's *Economic Material in the Documents of the States*, Ohio, II; Ohio, *Second Geological Survey*, Columbus, 1869; G. P. Merrill's *The First Hundred Years of American Geology*, New Haven, 1924; and, for the biographical information, Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, New York, 1900.

In the periodical and newspaper field, the most essential publication used was *The American Journal of Science and Arts*, New Haven, 1836-37-38; but two others, both important, were *The Western Monthly Magazine*, 1836, and *The Buckeye and Cincinnati Mirror*, Cincinnati, 1835-36-37.

OHIO'S TALLEST BUILDING

THE A. I. U. CITADEL, AT COLUMBUS.

The first object to impress the visitor to Columbus is the A. I. U. Citadel, or to be more explicit, the Citadel of the American Insurance Union. It rises in its white majesty high above all other buildings. In the night-time, the beacon, blazing from its summit, is easily mistaken by the traveler, at a distance, for a celestial body — a star of the first magnitude.

This beautiful and imposing structure was built in three years by a force of 650 men. It is 555 feet and 6 inches tall and 188 feet square at its base. It is slightly taller than the Washington Monument and 74 feet 6 inches taller than the Great Pyramid of Khufu, in Egypt. This towering structure was designed by C. Howard Crane, of Detroit, and his plans were executed by Roger J. Waring, resident architectural superintendent. John Gill & Sons, of Cleveland, were the builders, and J. L. Dombrosky the superintendent of construction. It includes more than 600 office rooms, a number of storerooms, 600 rooms of the Deshler-Wallick Hotel and a theatre with a seating capacity of 4000.

Artistic features from classic mythology and groups symbolical of the protective mission of insurance crown and ornament this beautiful building.

“The Citadel is America’s first aerial lighthouse and the beacons serve a two-fold purpose.” From the sky



A. I. U. CITADEL
(137)

they may be seen at a distance of eighty or ninety miles, and will guide aviators who fly by night. They serve, also, as a warning to airmen passing over the city.

This building was dedicated September 21, 1927, with imposing ceremonies. The theatre was crowded to its capacity. Distinguished visitors from a distance were present. By airplane came Hon. James J. Davis, United States Secretary of Labor, from Pittsburgh, on the morning of the previous day. The representatives of many fraternal insurance organizations were present. United States Senator Simeon D. Fess was on the program and delivered an address, as did also Hon. James J. Davis, of the President's Cabinet.

Hon. John J. Lentz, President of the American Insurance Union, and the man to whom the Citadel owes its inception and completion, presented this building "to the City of Columbus; to the State of Ohio; and to the Nation."

Mayor James J. Thomas, of Columbus, made a brief speech in accepting for the city.

Albert Bushnell Hart, Professor Emeritus of Government at Harvard University, a historian of international reputation, made an impressive address, in the course of which he set forth the significance of the word "Citadel" as follows:

That word "Citadel" has a peculiar significance as the architectural culmination of a great humanitarian institution. In the old days of strong fortifications such cities as Nuremberg, Chester and Quebec were defended, first of all, by a surrounding wall, the foundations of which were protected by a moat. Within that wall was added, as a second line of defense, a Citadel, such as the lordly castle still standing inside the wall of that famous fortress, Carcassonne, in southern France. There the garrison could make a second stand and wear the enemy out by an enduring hold on that inner line of endurance.

The name of Citadel is especially appropriate as a watchword of a great life insurance company; for millions of families in the United States protect themselves, from the "terror by night and the destruction that wasteth at noonday," through this defensive institution.

Doubtless that is the reason why John Lentz and the Board of the American Insurance Union gave to this magnificent building its fitting name of "The Citadel." In our complex modern civilization, with its vast opportunities of accumulating money, counter-balanced apparently by equally extensive and alluring ways of losing money, the wise family erects various solid fortifications against those dreadful foes, poverty and helplessness. At one point of danger they erect a savings-bank deposit. An alarming crack in the masonry is made solid by a Liberty Bond; but when all else is gone there still remains, unassailed within their walls, a rampart of security—the solemn obligation of a great life insurance company to safeguard and defend the welfare of the stricken family.

A group of architectural decadents in our time misspend their time in decrying the modern lofty building as crude, as tasteless, as outside the canons of classic form. Towers? Spires? Skyscrapers? What else were the Pyramids of Egypt, the Tower of Babel, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Coliseum at Rome, the cloud-piercing spires of Cologne and Chartres and York and the magnificent domed churches of St. Peter in Rome, and St. Paul in London? In all ages civilized men have loved to approach the stars with the work of their hands.

Look at that gem-encrusted bell tower of Giotto, in Florence, the porcelain Pagoda of Nanking, the great masonry upheaval called St. Alban's Cathedral, and the soaring Eiffel Tower, in Paris. Do they not all speak the aspiration of men to reach the skies? Our Citadel today carries our spirits upward beyond the level of our daily selves and thoughts and aspirations. . . .

The purpose of a Citadel is never to overpower, but to protect. A Citadel is built for defense; it cannot send forth armies, cannot bombard distant cities. It is a refuge for the weak; it is a holdfast; it is a key to the situation; it is the acme of self-defense against danger and destruction.

Perhaps it was as a Governor of Mooseheart that John J. Lentz learned to believe in Napoleon's maxim which is so completely applicable to this great Citadel: "What is possible is already done; what is impossible must be done." It is that power to envisage the future, that promise of things hoped for, that evidence of things not seen; that has made him such a power



JOHN J. LENTZ

in the world, that has placed him among the group of great directors of corporations in the United States, that has made possible this prodigious evidence of the power of mind over matter.

Yet John Lentz is not a lone statue on the apex of a monumental building. We have found him a team-worker, a man who can share responsibility with other people, broad in counsel, strong in action, with illimitable confidence in the future. He can dream dreams and then make them come true.

In the elaborate and beautiful folio brochure, which carries a full description of the building and the program of ceremonies attending the dedication, is found the following poem by Mrs. Marie W. Vandegrift, National Editor of the American Insurance Union.

The Citadel.

O Citadel!
I could not love thee more
E'en had mine own hands carved thy grace;
Unless my eager finger-tips
Had fashioned each immortal face
Of every figure which adorns thee;
Thy sculptured bronze by my own hand
Been chiselled deep;
The tow'ring steel of thy design
Been summoned by some thought of mine;
The flame-baked clay for thy great form
Been softly tinted, rich and warm,
Beneath my fervid eyes;
That glorious beauty as you rise
Into the clouds
Been pre-ordained by my instruction;
Unless each sign of imagery,
Each miracle of symmetry,
Been from my ardent labor,
I could not love thee more!
And yet,
If thy great purpose shall succeed
As minister to those in need;
If thou shalt reign in majesty
As monarch of security;
If thy great portals shall reveal
A shrine of endless love and zeal,

A sacred place, where those who dwell
Within thy walls, O Citadel!
Shall toil, with hearts compassionate,
To nurture truth and banish hate;
Where each reveres the holy call
Of service unto one and all;
Where childhood's right to liberty
From ignorance and poverty
Shall be upheld; where grief
Shall be dispelled by thy relief;
Where all shall pray that wars may cease,
And all shall work for world-wide peace,
American ideals unfurled,
And love enthroned in all the world,
Then will I love thee more indeed!

The following ode, written by Charles H. Orr, was sung to the air of our national hymn on the morning of the dedication:

Ode to the Citadel.

Oh, beauteous tower on thee
Our eyes rest lovingly,
We sing thy praise.
Thou art our city's pride,
Thy fame on every side
Shall travel far and wide
Through endless days.

Long may thy shaft on high
Upraised unto the sky
Our hearts elate.
To use of mankind all,
Each proud and stately hall,
Each steel-bound granite wall,
We dedicate.

Each man must have his day,
All here will pass away,
But thou wilt stand;
Sunkist at break of day,
Catching the sun's last ray;
Breasting the storm at play;
Forever grand.

Note — *The American Insurance Union Magazine*, of October, 1927, is elaborately illustrated and fully devoted to the dedicatory ceremonies.

NATIONAL OLD TRAILS ROAD IN OHIO

The Old Trails Chapter, Daughters of the American Colonists, Columbus, Ohio, unveiled a bronze tablet on the West Broad Street bridge, in Columbus, on October



—Photo by Nice

UNVEILING OF TABLET

Scene at unveiling of tablet on Broad Street Bridge. Mrs. Lewis C. Laylin and Mayor James J. Thomas, center.

5, 1927. Mrs. W. C. Moore, Regent of the Chapter, presided and Mayor James J. Thomas made introductory remarks. Mrs. Lewis C. Laylin, of Columbus, State Historian of the Daughters of American Colonists, gave a short history of the road in Ohio, and Mrs. Frank C. Martin, State Regent, unveiled the tablet, which was

accepted by Judge John King, on behalf of the city, and by H. E. Barthman, chairman of the Board of County Commissioners of Franklin County, on behalf of the county. October 5, being the 102nd anniversary of the locating of the road by surveyors in Columbus, was chosen as the date for the ceremony. A luncheon by the Chapter at the Neil House, the old stage-coach tavern, preceded the ceremony.

On the occasion Mrs. Laylin spoke as follows:

On the 5th of October, 1825, Jonathan Knight, engaged in locating the road from Zanesville westward, arrived in Columbus at the head of a corps of engineers, among whom was Joseph E. Johnston, afterward one of the most distinguished generals of the Confederate Army. The *Ohio State Journal* of that date announced that "Knight would return to Zanesville and divide the line he had located into half-mile sections, and make estimates of the probable cost of construction." The line was practically a straight one, going about seven miles south of Newark and 14 miles north of Lancaster, and it was mostly level except in the hilly country near Zanesville.

During the summer of 1826, Engineers Knight and Weaver, with their assistants, completed the permanent location of the road as far as Zanesville and made a preliminary survey of the line from Columbus west to Indianapolis. As to this part of the road, the *Ohio State Journal* says, "The adopted route leaves Columbus at Broad Street and crosses the Scioto River at the end of that street on the new wooden bridge erected in 1826. Thence it passes through the village of Franklinton and across the low grounds to the bluff which is surmounted at a depression formed by a ravine at a point nearly in the prolongation of Broad Street. Thence by a small angle to the bluffs of Darby Creek and thence by nearly a straight line through Deer Creek barrens, across that stream to the dividing grounds between the Scioto and Miami Rivers, and thence down the valley to Beaver Creek."

The criticisms that arose in the choice of routes through Licking and Franklin Counties caused considerable delay in the progress of the work and seem to have assumed a political aspect. In September, 1827, Mr. James Kilbourne, then a candidate for Congress, announced that "as to the location of the National Road from Zanesville to Columbus, he was decidedly in favor of the straight and direct route through the town of

Hebron." Efforts were made to have the General Assembly declare its preference for rival routes, but they failed. The controversy being settled, the Hebron route was chosen, and in July, 1830, the superintendent of construction gave notice that he would receive bids in Columbus for grubbing, cleaning and grading that part of the National Road from Columbus to Big Darby, a distance of twelve miles, and for constructing the



—Photo by Nice

BRONZE TABLET ON BROAD STREET BRIDGE

bridges, culverts and other necessary masonry for the above space, also the same for 26 sections of one mile each east of Columbus extending to the Ohio Canal." Fourteen miles of the road westward from Columbus were put under contract about the same time, the first three miles to be graveled.

An act of Congress, passed June 24, 1834, appropriated \$200,000 for continuing the road through Ohio, and the same amount for Indiana and Illinois. This Act further provided that, as soon as completed, the finished portions of the road

should be surrendered to state control and make no further claim upon the United States Treasury. The total length of the road in Ohio was 320 miles, but that portion between Springfield and Indianapolis was uncompleted when it was surrendered to the State.

"... The National Road, when completed, appeared like a white riband, meandering over the green hills and valleys. It was surfaced with broken limestone, which, when compacted by the pressure of heavy wagons, became smooth as a floor and, after a rain, almost as clean. Wagons, stages, pedestrians, and vast droves of cattle, sheep, horses and hogs crowded it constantly, all pressing eagerly by the great arterial thoroughfare—for there were no railways then—to the markets of the East. Westwardly, on foot and in wagons, traveled an interminable caravan of emigrants or 'movers,' as they were commonly called, whose gypsy fires illuminated at night the roadside woods and meadows. For the heavy transportation, both east and west, huge covered wagons were used, built with massive axles and broad tires, and usually drawn by from four to six, and sometimes eight horses. The teamsters who conducted these 'mountain ships,' as they were known in the Alleghanies, were a peculiar class of men, rough, hearty, whiskered and sunburned, fond of grog, voluble in their stories of adventure and shockingly profane. Their horses were sturdy roadsters, well-fed, shod and curried, and heavily harnessed as became the enormous burdens they had to draw. When on duty, each of the animals in the larger teams bore upon its hames a chime of from three to six small bells, which jingled musically and no doubt cheered the sweating toilers at their task, while the groaning wain rolled slowly but steadily up hill and down. . . .

The road was frequented by traders, hucksters, peddlers, traveling musicians, small show-men, sharpers, tramps, beggars, and odd characters, some of whom made periodical pilgrimages and were familiar to the wayside dwellers from Columbus to Cumberland."*

To Columbus, as to many other towns and cities along the line, the opening of this great thoroughfare was an event of great importance and a commercial revolution. To this splendid enterprise and to the statesmen who conceived it, Ohio and her capital owe an incalculable debt both material and moral. The National Road flourished until the railway era dawned and then began its decay. On April 6, 1876, the General Assembly passed an act surrendering the road to the care of the counties, and on Octo-

* Lee, Alfred E., *History of the City of Columbus*, Vol. I, p. 327.

ber 23 of the same year, the city of Columbus assumed the care and control of it within its corporate limits.

The Ohio National Stage Company operated hundreds of stages on the western division of the road with headquarters in Columbus. Mr. William Neil was one of the magnates of this company and the old "Neil House," named for him, was its Columbus headquarters. The "Four-Mile House," west of Columbus, near Camp Chase of Civil War fame, was built on this road later in the century. Mr. Frank C. Martin, of Columbus, was born in this house.

"The first tavern built in Columbus was opened in 1813, and in 1816 it bore the sign 'The Lion and the Eagle.' After 1817, it was known as the 'Globe.' The 'Columbus Inn' and the 'White Horse Tavern' were other early Columbus hostleries. 'Pike's Tavern' was opened in 1822 and the 'Golden Lamb' in 1825. The Neil House was opened in the 'twenties'—and was the best-known early tavern in the old coaching days in Ohio."*

The time required to go from Washington to Columbus was 45½ hours and the fare seven dollars. The traveler will notice still the mile-posts that mark the great road's successive steps. Those on the eastern portion of the road are of iron, while those on the west are mostly of sandstone and the markings on them are still quite legible.

* Hulbert, A. B., *Historic Highways*, Vol. X, p. 163.

RAILROAD DISCUSSION NOT FORBIDDEN BY LANCASTER SCHOOL BOARD

FACTS AND FICTION RELATING TO A WELL WORN STORY.

On September 13, 1927, appeared a news article of considerable length in the Lancaster *Daily Eagle*, relative to the story that is semi-occasionally the subject of inquiries addressed to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. We are under obligation to Judge Van A. Snider, of Lancaster, Ohio, for the clipping from which we quote liberally.

The news story opens as follows:

For a half a century or more there has appeared in the public prints a paragraph which somewhat reflects upon the intelligence of the citizens of Lancaster and which has been clipped out by former residents of Fairfield County and sent to the *Eagle*. They came from the far and near, from the golden shores of the Pacific States, from the middle west and from all the states bordering on the broad Atlantic.

We have printed it, oh, a score of times and denied its authenticity, but still it is printed and the latest to take it up was the *Liberty Magazine*, whose editor comments upon it editorially. It has to do with the use of a schoolroom for a public debate as to whether or not railroads were practical. The resolution that was supposed to have been passed by the Lancaster School Board reads as follows:

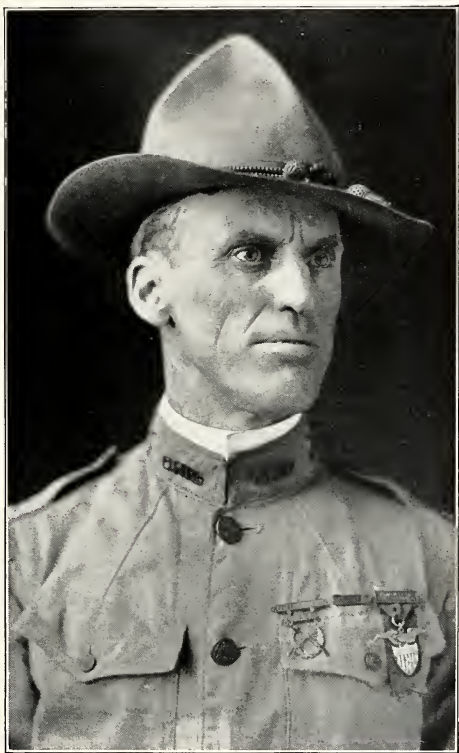
You are welcome to use the schoolroom to debate all proper questions in, but such things as railroads and telegraphs are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the Word of God about them. If God had designed that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful rate of fifteen miles an hour by steam He would have foretold it through His holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls down to hell.

The best explanation to the above was written some years ago by Will Scott, a former Lancasterian and a son of Dr. Hervey Scott, who many years ago wrote a history of Lancaster and Fairfield County.

At this point the story, as published in Dr. Scott's history, in 1877, is here reproduced in full as follows:

A PROPHECY.

The following prophetic venture, and its literal fulfillment, will exhibit pretty correctly the onward course of things in the



VAN A. SNIDER

Major of Infantry in World War. Judge of Probate and Juvenile Courts,
Fairfield County, Lancaster, Ohio.

Western country within the last fifty years. But not of the
Western country alone — of the world.

In the winter of 1827, the compiler of this volume was the Secretary of a debating school in one of the Western counties of Ohio. We held our meetings in the little brick schoolhouse of the village. The building stood a little out to one side, and near the Methodist Meeting-house.

The railroad idea was just beginning to incubate in the East, and the heresy had got on the wings of the winds — merest inklings of it, and had been wafted to the brains of even some chimerists of the "Far-West." A Yankee had been through the country exhibiting a miniature locomotive on wires stretched across the room, and charging a quarter for the sight. The thing was pronounced a Yankee trick by the conservative element of the community. Three-fourths of the people were conservative then; in fact, radicalism scarcely dared show its face.

We had a Captain Brown among us. He was voted a visionary — a castle builder. It has since appeared that he was one who let his mind run off in all directions; a man who did not believe that things were finished, or that the acme of knowledge and the ultimatum of invention had been reached.

At one of the meetings he made a speech — a railroad speech. He said the time was coming, and not far off, when railroads would be laid all over the West, and that people would yet travel fifteen miles an hour by steam. He said there would some day be a railroad from Cleveland to Cincinnati, and it would pass not far from that spot.

The meeting was largely attended that night, including ladies and many of the older and staid citizens.

A couple of days subsequently I received the following note, signed by a dozen of the solid men of the neighborhood, with a request that it should be read at the next debating school:

You are welcome to the use of the school-house to debate all proper questions, but such things as railroads are impossibilities, and are impious, and will not be allowed.

I read the note, and the railroad idea was squelched. Captain Brown did not live to see his prophecy fulfilled, but the railroad station now is within three hundred yards of where the school-house was then.

It will be noted that the date, 1827, which usually goes with the reputed opposition to the discussion of railroads and telegraphs, appears in Dr. Hervey Scott's history. We continue the quotation from the *Lancaster Eagle*:

Will Scott is now connected with the Hearst paper, in Detroit. We asked him to reproduce the article and this is what he says in a letter to his nephew, Dr. Bay Scott, of Lancaster :

Detroit, Mich., August 14, 1927.

Dear Bay Scott:

Re Mr. Ed Wetzler's interest in the old story which has been floating around for nearly 100 years and dealing with the action of an alleged Lancaster, Ohio, School Board in forbidding the use of the schoolhouse for the discussion of railroads and telegraphs, I submit the following narrative.

I have written the story several times in the last five years — the first time for the *Eagle*. The others were published in the *Detroit Times* and other Hearst papers.

In the first place, no Lancaster School Board was concerned in the note forbidding the use of the schoolhouse. This error arose from the fact that the story was originally published in a Lancaster newspaper and while the publication was before my birth and I therefore did not see it, I am of the opinion that its author, my father, was not so careless as to omit in his story the actual location of the schoolhouse in another county and definitely identify the particular school board concerned.

Years later, I heard him frequently talk and laugh about the incident and he showed me the original note from the school authorities, which he most carefully preserved. There were three signatures to the note, including the name of his own father.

The facts were as follows: My father was born in Clark County, Ohio, in 1809. The town of South Charleston is located exactly on the old farm or settlement owned and operated by my grandfather. Ohio was at that time little more than a wilderness. I have heard my father talk often of the Indians and wild animals which shared the region, the entire state perhaps, with the white people who had drifted into it and settled there. In 1831, my father then at the age of 22, was engaged to teach school to the few young people who lived close enough to reach a long, one-room log schoolhouse and which had oiled paper in lieu of window glass for the admission of light from the outside. It was the custom of the young men and women of the locality to assemble at the schoolhouse at intervals and just talk about anything that interested them. Upon one of these occasions, a stranger arrived on horseback, there being of course no railroads and not even wagon roads, which made horseback the only means of travel, except on foot. Being attracted by the gathering at the schoolhouse, the stranger, whose name has never

been connected with the story because it was perhaps not learned during his few hours' sojourn in the neighborhood and was of no consequence anyhow, tied his horse to a tree and entered the schoolhouse. He sat there listening to the various young people who had something to say and his presence was of course noted — also the fact that he was a stranger and totally unknown. Some sort of interview developed the fact that he had been riding west from the Atlantic seaboard for many weeks and was headed for no particular place — just traveling in quest of some locality that might prove attractive to him. In these modern days such a gentleman would be referred to as a "Boomer."

The interview also disclosed that this visitor might possibly be able to make an interesting talk to those young folks who never had been away from the locality or read any newspapers — if there were any. He was invited to make them a talk and in the course of his remarks, he informed them that he had, a short time before leaving New York, witnessed the demonstration of a "wagon with fire in it and built out of iron." The wagon, as he described it, had flanged wheels and was mounted on long lines of wooden girders. The wagon was so constructed that steam was created and held in "boxes" and according to the mechanism of the "wagon" this steam moved a rod backward and forward. The rod was attached to wheels so that the steam which governed the "rod" made the wheels turn around and with such power that the wagon moved at the rate of 15 miles an hour and drew behind it other wagons also equipped with flanged wheels to hold them on the rails or wooden girders. The said wagon had just been built by somebody who had an idea it was a practical means of moving various articles from one locality to another. I imagine his description was crude enough but also thorough enough to arouse the curiosity of his audience, who continued their discussion of it at their homes and in this manner the older people learned of the incident and talked it over among themselves.

The older and more conservative members of the community were not favorably impressed with the story of the traveling stranger and proceeded to register their opposition to continued discussion of the subject he brought into the community. Mr. Will Scott's letter continues as follows:

I have always held the idea that their action in forbidding the use of the schoolhouse further to listen to such trashy talk,

was based upon the well-known human trait of character which manifests itself in people of considerable age, resisting as best they can, the ideas of younger people along lines which the older ones know nothing about. At any rate, the fiercely denunciatory note, containing the most positive command to prevent any more such disgraceful incidents in the schoolhouse, followed.

That appears to be all there is to the story. It was, however, in Clark County, and not in Lancaster, that the incident was created. I will connect Lancaster with it a little further on. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* contains the information that the first steam engine built in this country, was produced at a machine shop called the "West Point," in the city of New York, in the year 1831, by a man whose name I have forgotten. This engine was demonstrated by its builder and was doubtless the one seen by the traveler who told the Clark County "kids" about it. The encyclopedia states that this engine was at once put into practical use, but exploded after a short service and DeWitt Clinton immediately built a duplicate of it, with some improvements of his own and in the same shop. This latter engine is still in existence and I have seen it many times.

Now for the responsibility which a Lancaster School Board has had to assume for the action which has in later years, appeared so humorous.

My father was, at the time he served as school-teacher, studying medicine and very soon thereafter he entered the Cincinnati College of Medicine from which he graduated, and soon after located in Lancaster. He had been greatly impressed with the life of the wilderness as he had seen it, the habits, customs and character of the settlers and, as he saw advancement in his new environment, he believed that written accounts of the earlier days would be interesting. He seems to have acquired, or inherited from his mother, a very highly educated young woman of English extraction, a considerable amount of literary talent. As long as he lived he continued to write his pioneer sketches which were widely published in many localities. Having built up a more or less successful practice in Lancaster and having, as a possible necessary consequence, become possessed of "some" money, he purchased the *Lancaster Gazette*, at some date shortly prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, and my oldest brother, Hervey Scott, together with Billy Kookan and Lang Sutphen, was the working staff of the paper, my father and brother, Hervey, acting as editors.

While publishing the *Gazette*, let me say from perhaps 1858 to 1861, he published this dictum from the school board incorporated in one of his pioneer narratives. At the outbreak of the

war, my brother, Hervey, enlisted as a private and served throughout the entire conflict. I remember his arrival home, although less than three years old myself, at the time. My father had sold the paper, to whom I am not certain, but believe it was Mr. Griswold. Now, then, because the story was printed in a Lancaster newspaper, and because subsequent developments began to give it an amusing and humorous character, the "odium" was forever fastened upon a Lancaster School Board. The story is still current and even Arthur Brisbane used it in his internationally famous "Today" stuff within recent months.

Going back to the cause of all the trouble, the "Boomer" traveler on horseback, among his remarks, was a prediction that some, who then listened to him, would live to see in actual and practical operation, the curious contrivance he was trying to describe. It was not very long after that time that a railroad was built through Clark County, which as far back as I can remember, was the "Little Miami" section of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and its South Charleston depot stands upon the identical spot previously occupied by the log schoolhouse in which the traveler from the east broke the news. This information came personally from my father.

WILL SCOTT.

2325 Cass Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

It will be noted that Dr. Hervey Scott does not state where the address of this traveler from the East was delivered. The designation is "one of the western counties of Ohio." The inference very naturally was that it occurred in Lancaster, or at least in Fairfield County, inasmuch as the prophecy was published in Dr. Scott's *History of Fairfield County, Ohio*.

The fact that "telegraphs" are usually included in the resolution purporting to have been adopted by the Lancaster School Board in 1827, is strong evidence that such resolution was never passed by the Lancaster or any other Ohio school board in that year. "Telegraphs" were not dreamed of at that time — at least in the western wilderness. The fully purported resolution, quoted at the beginning of this newspaper story, doubtless

seems to evidence an infusion of reportorial imagination after the electric telegraph was invented by Morse.

From C. M. L. Wiseman's *Pioneer Period and Pioneer People of Fairfield County, Ohio*, pages 278-279, published in 1901, we learn that "Alexander Wells (son of William Wells, one of the founders of Wellsville, Ohio) was a prominent man of Wellsville and the local historian." It was he, who in an address, applied Dr. H. Scott's schoolhouse anecdote to Lancaster instead of South Charleston, Clark County. The story evidently received "embellishments" as it was reprinted in almost every state of the Union.



DEDICATION OF BRONZE TABLETS TO MAJOR JOHN MILLS AND TECUMSEH

FRAZER E. WILSON.

Early in the spring of 1927, the Greenville Historical Society, through the services of the Piqua Granite Company, transported to Greenville two large granite boulders to be used as historical markers. The first was about four and one-half feet square and is shown in the illustration accompanying this article. It was found along the Nashville Road, about four miles west of Greenville, and was erected on a deep concrete foundation, near the site of Tecumseh's home, on the north side of the Winchester Pike, a few hundred feet west of the Mud Creek bridge, and within the present limits of the city of Greenville, Ohio. The other boulder is about three feet square, and was transported from a field near the Nineveh U. B. Church, about six miles southeast of Greenville, and placed on a lot at the southeast corner of West Third and Chestnut Streets, to mark the site of the burial-ground of the soldiers of Wayne's Legion, who died during the occupancy of Fort Greenville, from the fall of 1793 to the time of the abandonment of the Fort, in 1796. Although comparatively small in size, this boulder has a raised diagonal band running across its face and makes a very artistic and appropriate marker.

Since Major John Mills, the adjutant general in Wayne's Legion, died at Fort Greenville, in July, 1796,

it is presumed that his remains were also buried on this site — just outside of the southwest bastion of the Fort and overlooking the beautiful prairie to the west and south. Major Mills had also rendered distinguished services in the Revolutionary War, and the Fort Greenville Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revo-



Monument and Tablet Dedicated to Major John Mills, Greenville, Ohio.

lution asked for the privilege of furnishing the tablet for this marker, which was dedicated to the Major and the brave officers and privates buried on the site.

The tablet is inscribed as follows:

In Memory of

MAJOR JOHN MILLS

A soldier of the Revolution
and Adjutant General
in Wayne's Legion.

And the brave officers and soldiers
Who died during the occupancy of
Fort Greenville

1793 - 1796

Placed by Fort Greenville Chapter, D. A. R.

A public-spirited nurseryman, Mr. E. M. Buechly, who lives near Greenville, was granted the privilege of furnishing the tablet for the Tecumseh Memorial. This tablet is eighteen by twenty-four inches in size and bears the following inscription, which, as also the Mills tablet inscription, was drafted by Frazer E. Wilson, for many years secretary of the Greenville Historical Society:



TECUMSEH MEMORIAL AT GREENVILLE, OHIO

In Memory of
TECUMSEH
The Noted Shawnee Chief
and his brother
TENSKWATAWA
"The Prophet"
who lived on this site
1806 - 1808

Tablet donated by
E. M. Buechly.

Both of these beautiful and appropriate memorials were unveiled on the afternoon of Sunday, October 2, 1927, with the programs which follow.

The services at the Mills Memorial were in charge of the Fort Greenville Chapter, D. A. R., and were presided over by Rev. J. P. MacLean, president of the Greenville Historical Society.

PROGRAM.

Invocation.....Rev. L. D. Utts, Rector of the Episcopal Church
Patriotic Song

Brief Historical

Address...Frazer E. Wilson, Mayor of the City of Greenville
Presentation of Memorial.....Mrs. Aurelia Rosser
Oration of the Day.....Hon. D. L. Gaskill

Song

The spectators and participants then proceeded about five blocks to the site of the Tecumseh Memorial, where was rendered the following

PROGRAM.

Patriotic Song

Sketch of Tecumseh and "The Prophet".....Frazer E. Wilson
Presentation of Tablet.....E. M. Buechly (the donor)
Acceptance.....George A. Katzenberger
Address.....L. V. MacWhorter, North Yakima, Washington
Address....."Strongheart," of the Yakima Indian Nation
Benediction.....Rev. O. O. Arnold, Pastor of the U. B. Church

The weather on the afternoon of the dedication was pleasant and the affair was considered a decided success by both organizations participating. Greenville now has three appropriate historical markers within its limits — the first being a boulder and tablet memorial placed on West Main Street, near the Public Square, in 1906, to commemorate the signing of the Treaty, under the

auspices of the local Historical Society. This Society also secured a plot of ground, on the site of old Fort Jefferson, built in 1791, by General St. Clair, about five miles south of Greenville, and erected thereon a broken-boulder memorial, with tablet attached, in 1907. This monument is now in charge of the Neave Township Trustees, since it adjoins the Township House Ground.

Early in 1927, the Greenville Historical Society purchased about three and one-third acres of land adjoining this site, including a rifle-pit and spring used by the soldiers occupying the Fort. This tract will also probably be improved in the near future and incorporated with the original plat. As there is a large tract of land adjoining this, immediately on the southwest, which has been worked over by the Greenville Gravel Company for many years, and which contains two small lakes, it is hoped that the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society will recommend that the State Legislature appropriate funds for the securing of this, and also permitting it to be set aside as a State Park in the near future.

LUCAS SULLIVANT TABLET DEDICATED

On Saturday, December 9, 1927, the Franklin County Pioneer Association, founded in 1866, met in the southwest room of the Franklinton Public School Building, for the purpose of unveiling, and presenting to the city, a bronze tablet marking the home of Lucas Sullivan,



—Photo by Nice

TABLET MARKING SITE OF HOME OF LUCAS SULLIVANT
founder of Franklinton.

The house that Lucas Sullivan built (or a part of it) is now incorporated in the larger buildings of the House of the Good Shepherd, and it was by the gracious permission of the lovely Superior of that order, Mother Mary of St. Agnes (since deceased) that the Pioneer

Association was enabled to place the tablet on the outer wall of the convent, on the southwest corner of Broad and Sandusky Streets.

A complimentary audience gathered to attend the exercises, and an interesting program was carried out.

The presentation was made to the city of Columbus by Mr. Frank Tallmadge, chairman of the Executive Committee, and an originator and prime mover of this undertaking. In a speech to Mayor James J. Thomas, he stressed the desirability of teaching local history to the rising generation.

The principal feature of the afternoon was the delivery of an address by Mr. Andrew Denny Rodgers, III, great-great-grandson of Lucas Sullivant. Mr. Rodgers has not only read many books, but has made careful examination of all available court records bearing on his subject, as well as of deeds and other documents, making trips for that purpose to Chillicothe, Circleville and Springfield. Indeed, he has left no stone unturned to authenticate every statement he has made.

LUCAS SULLIVANT AND THE FOUNDING OF COLUMBUS

BY ANDREW DENNY RODGERS, III.

The American and French Revolutions over and the new Constitution in operation, the government of the fifteen United States, in the latter part of the 1780's, turned its attention to the development and cultivation of the almost unknown country to the west of the Alleghanies. The "winning of the west" presented an immense test of national strength. For the task was not an easy one. No national bank, no postal system, no railroad, canal or turnpike could be utilized, for the very good reason that none were in existence. And merely a population of less than four million persons, residing "almost wholly on the Atlantic Coast," could assist in this undertaking!

By a simple resolution of the Continental Congress all

territorial lands had been declared of the national domain. But the territories were comparatively uninhabited. In New York but few people had pierced the far west of the Mohawk Valley, although some pioneers had gone as far as Lake Ontario and the rivers tributary thereto. In Pennsylvania, "settlers had pressed westward more or less thickly to the lower elevations of the Alleghanies and beyond, in the Pittsburgh regions, although what is now West Virginia had only squatters here and there." In northern Kentucky, along the Ohio River, lay several settlements — yet the combined population of West Virginia and Kentucky aggregated less than one-half of the present population of Columbus.

Virginians had "betaken themselves southwestward to the head of the Tennessee River." However, in the course of these migrations, the tales of John Finley regarding another land had become current — a land "watered by magnificent streams, garbed in luxurious herbage, splendidly timbered, abounding in all sorts of game" but spotted with beautiful "extensive plains." Daniel Boone had written, "nature is here in a series of wonder and a fund of delight." This was Kentucky, a vast country in which, while replete with natural beauty, no man's life was safe, "owing to the revolution in the east and the constant Indian warfare."

Contrasting this situation with the comfortable plantation life of Virginia, with its superabundance of slaves, its rare culture and tradition, the wealth of opportunities within its immediate state borders, its amusement-loving people, sheltered by a good government of law and order, one has difficulty in discovering any other reasons for leaving this delightful country than a spirited desire to achieve the original or an unquenchable thirst for adventure.

Nevertheless, in the early '80's from Mecklenburg County, Virginia, came Lucas Sullivant, a young man, having adopted the occupation of surveyor, following the example of George Washington, and rejecting the further care of a good tobacco farm, the balance of a large plantation to which had been attached many slaves. Lucas' grandfather had been an early resident of North Carolina, holding a government appointment in that colony. His mother, Hannah Lucas, is said to have been "a self-reliant character" who "herself gave to her sons the rudiments of their education." His father, however, was "of a social disposition, careless and rather dissipated." Both parents dying before he attained his majority, Lucas was left to buffet the world alone. "Notwithstanding," we are told, his "energy, industry and good character secured him good friends and considerate

advisers, among whom was Colonel William Starling," who later became his father-in-law.

Col. Starling later moved to Kentucky. Whether he persuaded Lucas that there were better opportunities in "the West," or whether Lucas hoped to reproduce his exciting experiences as a member of an expedition against the Indians near Augusta, we do not know, but suffice it to say he came to Kentucky to continue his activity as a surveyor, accumulating enough capital there to buy a home at Washington.

While satisfying the bounties of unappropriated lands within a part of the Virginia commonwealth (now Tennessee and Kentucky) surveying became a most estimable profession. These bounties had been offered by the State to her officers and soldiers of the Continental and State Lines to induce enlistment during the Revolution. The surveyors were made responsible for their allotment. The system called for the appointment by the "governor with advice of council of surveyors to be nominated, examined and commissioned for the purpose of surveying and apportioning" the lands. With the aid and under the direction of superintendents appointed by the officers, to whom "power to choose the best land" was extended, the surveyors proceeded to survey in proportions fixed according to the rank of the soldier. And, after the survey, the portions of each rank were numbered. Whereupon, the officers and soldiers drew lots for the numbers, which were then located at their expense as soon as they and the surveyors thought "proper."

But with the opening of the land "northwest of the Ohio River" by the great Ordinance of 1787, another Land Office was opened near the Falls of the Ohio (at present near Louisville), under Colonel Richard C. Anderson, father of Governor Anderson, of Ohio, and of Major Anderson, the "gallant defender" of Fort Sumter in the Civil War. This territory, claimed by the French and British successively, had been ceded definitely to the United States by the two Treaties of Paris. Virginia had claimed a large portion of it as her "County of Botetourt" and later as her "County of Illinois" and had made unsuccessful attempts to establish small settlements and a government there. Up to the time of the Ordinance, Congress, fearful of Indian unrest and more concerned with the developments along the Atlantic coast and abroad, did not encourage emigration to these lands. The Indian "Council of the Confederates" had sent Congress a very polite remonstrance reminding that body that the whites had not obtained the Indian title and begged that "your surveyors and other people" should not be allowed "on our side

of the river." So lives in this territory were not as safe as in Kentucky. It was to be expected that except for a few settlers along the Ohio, some despondent French ones in the north around the Maumee, a few traders in Indian villages and the inhabitants of a few Moravian missionary settlements in the east, no white person dwelt within the territory.

Besides Virginia, several of the original states claimed portions of this undeveloped land. As far back as 1779, the Continental Congress had requested them to cede these claims to the United States for the "common benefit of union." Virginia, in an eminently national spirit, within a few years, executed her famous Deed of Cession, relinquishing her claim to the territory; but fortunately for herself, conditioned the grant that if certain lands upon the Cumberland River and between the Green River and Tennessee River should be insufficient to pay her military land bounties, "the deficiency should be made up in good lands between the rivers Scioto and Little Miami." Thus the United States government became a great trustee of this land for the Virginia officers and soldiers of the Continental Line.

Settlers began to venture across the Ohio. The Ordinance, it was thought, sealed civil and religious liberty. "For the first time in history, a great empire was dedicated to freedom and public education."

Marietta, named for Marie Antoinette, was established in 1788 near Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum River, by an "Ohio Land Company" composed of forty-eight Massachusetts people who came by "hoof, wheel and keel." This company owned a million and a half acres and had been, through the efforts of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, largely instrumental in procuring the passage of the Ordinance and the provision against slavery within the territory.* In the same year, opposite the mouth of the Licking River where the great Indian trail crossed the Ohio, Losantiville, of which Fort Washington was a part, and North Bend were settled by thirty members of a company of New Jersey people, owning several millions of acres between the Ohio and the Miami Rivers. Today these settlements are combined to make up, in part, Cincinnati. Manchester, Gallipolis, Hamilton and Dayton, in order named, had their origins by settlements along streams, the highway of the pioneer.

Theoretically, civil liberty may have been guaranteed by the Ordinance, but certainly, actual safety was not to be realized for

* The Ordinance of 1787 was written by Nathan Dane, who was chiefly instrumental in its enactment. See Galbreath, C. B., "The Ordinance of 1787, its Origin and Authorship," in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, XXXIII, pp. 111-175.

some time. Up to the War of 1812, these two forts were the only ones in the central and southern portions of what is now Ohio, afforded the protection of federal troops. For this reason the growth of the first decade was slow — the population of the entire territory, up to 1798, not exceeding 5000 persons.

Here, again, the surveyor was to precede civilization. The agents of the officers and soldiers of Virginia reported to Congress that there was an "unexpected" deficiency of good land on the "southeasterly side of the River Ohio" to satisfy the Virginia bounties. Complying with the condition of the Virginia Grant, Congress passed an act creating the "Virginia Military District, containing 4,209,800 acres of land, the largest reservation or grant in Ohio and embracing the very richest of her agricultural lands." The act further authorized the agents of the officers and soldiers of the Continental Line to make "locations, surveys and allotments," but required, however, that "the bounds of each location and survey" be entered in a book kept for that purpose, annexing thereto the name of the party originally entitled to the entry and survey. This provision for names in the entries constituted the only essential difference between the surveying method used on the land southeast of the Ohio River and that to be used in the Virginia Military District — Virginia, having prescribed for both districts the faulty and most confusing "indiscriminate location plan," or "Crazy Quilt Plan," as it has been called, as opposed to the even, intelligent "rectangular plan" to be used later on the east side of the Scioto.

Lucas Sullivant must have become a proficient surveyor while in Kentucky. Whether he engaged in land location while there, we do not know. If he did, it is possible that he came to this vicinity as early as 1787, for within two weeks after the opening of Col. Anderson's office, in which Lucas was a deputy surveyor, entries were made on Darby Creek land and on the west bank of the Scioto River where Columbus is now situated. Whether the date of the entry is the date the entry was actually made on the land or the date on which it was copied into the records of the principal surveyor, we cannot ascertain; and whether the entry was made by physical entrance upon the land or by allotment at the principal surveyor's office, is slightly problematical. Since the entry served as the basis of title for the owner of the military warrant, vesting in him an equitable title of inheritance which merged with the legal title only when the patent was issued; and since the law required that the entry descriptive bounds be sufficiently precise and notorious to include a locative object, e.g., a tree near a spring, in vicinity of some

notorious natural object, e.g., a spring, the entry was of such importance that it must have been made by locators, either mounted or on foot upon the land and copied into the books upon their return to the principal surveyor's office. Should one entry overlap another, the entry was withdrawn and the warrantee or his agent, second in point of time, had to seek out other lands.

We do not know who these agents or locators were. Ohio courts, however, have clung to a presumption that "the entry and survey were made by the same person or under the same authority." If this presumption be fact, four of the deputy surveyors of the Virginia Military District, Nathaniel Massie, John Beasley, Lucas Sullivant and John O'Bannon may have entered in or near this land, fraught with more dangers than any other section of the country, as early as August 8, 1787.

Be that as it may, over eight years elapsed before these locators were to come or return as surveyors to the territory which the west side of our city covers. In 1795, Lucas Sullivant, accompanied by James Kent and Edward Walden, as chain carriers, and Abram Shepard, as marker, made, among others, survey numbers 497, 513 and 515 on Darby Creek. The Indians becoming hostile, he returned to Kentucky. There, into Lucas' hand, among others, fell a warrant issued to "Richard Stephenson, heir at law of Colonel Hugh Stephenson." He immediately "set on foot" an inquiry "to find the owner of the warrant." Discovering that Richard Stephenson had died before attaining his majority, and being advised that he left certain brothers and sisters then living in Kentucky, Lucas Sullivant, on April 14, 1796, negotiated an agreement with persons purporting to be the rightful heirs, whereby he agreed to finance the surveying expedition to locate new lands, and they agreed to convey to him one-half of what he surveyed as a consideration for his services.

Whether Lucas selected the land near the supposed headwaters of the Scioto for this new entry because of Daniel Boone's description that this valley was "exceedingly fertile" and "remarkable for fine springs and streams of waters," must be left to conjecture. Undoubtedly he was influenced by the achievements of Nathaniel Massie, the greatest of Virginia Military District surveyors, and his party, including Col. John McDonald, his personal friend and biographer, and Duncan McArthur, later a prominent surveyor and one of Ohio's early governors. This party had, on April first, laid out the borough of Chillicothe and were planning a surveying expedition of a chain of entries made in 1787, up the river to and including the land north of and to

the east of what is now Guilford Avenue, in Columbus, for one Robert Vance, John Trabue and others. Their expedition was completed in October of 1796. Replying to the question whether or not Mr. Sullivant thought at this time that an entry made on the land west of the present Guilford Avenue, of this city, was so centrally located that it might eventually become a part of the capital of a state not yet formed, our answer must be in the negative, for state lines were not yet established and the Northwest Territory was a vast region extending as far west as Wisconsin. At any rate, upon this land he made entry for Richard Stephenson in June, 1796.

Concerning his route from Kentucky, we can only guess. He may have come up the Scioto with or following Massie; up the Little Miami or Deer Creek where John O'Banion had been surveying; or he may have followed an "old hunting road from the Kentucky country to Chillicothe past a remarkable Indian encamping ground" and then cut his way through the wilderness to this vicinity. "Zane's Trace," a route from Limestone or Maysville, Kentucky, through Chillicothe, Lancaster and Wheeling, afterward to become "the prime factor in Ohio's development," had been ordered cut. Ebenezer Zane, however, did not open this until 1797. In Gen. Beatty's address before the Franklinton Centennial in 1897, he said that not until 1798 did Capt. Joseph Hunter, the first settler of Fairfield County, pass over it.

The fact is that practically no other white men had ever been over this ground prior to the Massie and Sullivant expeditions. La Salle, the French explorer, may have dipped down in or near this portion of the state to the Ohio River. Christopher Gist, an agent of "The Ohio Company," had come in 1750 to what is now Coshocton, passed the pool, later to become "Buckeye Lake," on to Lancaster, and proceeded southward. On good authority, however, it is said that he "visited Logstown, passed over the Muskingum River and at a Wyandot village there met Croghan, another famous frontiersman, who accompanied him to the Shawnee village of the Scioto." Several white Indian captives, including Jeremiah Armstrong and perhaps his brother, Robert, Jonathan Alder, James Smith, and possibly Daniel Boone, had been brought or came to or near this country. Six months before the firing of the shot "heard around the world," Col. William Crawford, at the head of an expedition during the "Lord Dunmore War" against the Indians, accomplished an almost complete massacre of a Mingo Indian settlement on the east bank of the Scioto.

Only fifteen years before, the first white girl born in Ohio had been born in an eastern settlement. The reasons for this

dearth of white explorers and inhabitants are obvious. The Indian hazard was too great, although the Treaty of Greenville, in response to Wayne's victory in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, had reduced the danger. Congress had not encouraged even the "squatters" of the "Northwest." Up to 1795, the meager government of the Northwest Territory was not sufficiently strong to pass any laws, let alone enforce them, except the few framed by Governor St. Clair and the territorial judges to rectify particular conditions.

In the face of such conditions, Lucas Sullivant, with his party of 20 men, consisting in part of Joseph Connor, Joseph Lewis, John Ellis, Robert Dixon, James McClure and Edward Walden, as chain carriers, and Samuel Robinson, Andrew Chew, John Flourance and John Hynaman, as markers, all duly appointed and sworn and, if not all, nearly all men who had served in the Revolution or in expeditions against Indians in 1796, became the pioneer surveyors of the Darby Creek country and, in part, the pioneers of what is now Franklin County. Other white men who came here, with the possible exceptions of the Indian captives, Jeremiah Armstrong and John Brickle, did not return to settle or their coming was not voluntary.

Within a year after their arrival, the party had surveyed over a dozen tracts of land, comprising over 15,000 acres in Union, Madison and Franklin Counties. In the same year, Moses Cleaveland, kinsman of President Grover Cleveland, with a band of persons, as agents of the Connecticut Land Company, arrived near Conneaut and planted the first crop of wheat sown and reaped by white men in the Western Reserve, bringing the spirit of Yankee expansion and the essence of Puritanism.

The hardships endured by every pioneer command our respect and tribute. Perhaps, to them, the adventures compensated for the suffering, yet I can but envy them the "dry breast-meat of the wild turkey, or the lean flesh of the deer," the silver fox and bear they ate; the abundant variety of bird, small animal and floral life they saw; the thrill of not knowing exactly what to expect next. I can only applaud, or better, bow my head, when I read of their tribulations; of wolves as constant visitors. One night, but for a rifle's flash, a huge panther would have jumped from a tree into their unprotected camp. Rattlesnakes found as bed companions; a cold, raw winter; constant danger of Indian attack due to the recent massacre of the Mingoes; these are but a few of the tales coming down to us of the perils of the Sullivant party.

This party came not as drifters in the tide of immigration about to ensue, nor even to make homes, but to survey. The

commerce of surveying was not all, however. Mr. Sullivant had long cherished a purpose of founding a town — not a “paper town” where the wealthy owner would remain at his comfortable home in the east as many Ohio towns were founded — nor was the system of tenantry, in vogue in Virginia and translated to the territory by some, to be instituted. He decided to buy the land and personally found a town — for all those who wished to remain upon the low fertile plain of the west bank as well as for those who wished to come; and as a trading-post for the Wyandot and Mingo Indians who had villages on the west bank near the fork of the rivers, and camps located, ’tis said, near where the Ohio Penitentiary, the Green Lawn Avenue bridge and the City Water-Works are located.

Mr. Sullivant must have been more impressed with the possibilities of land along the Scioto than along Darby Creek. Accordingly after completing a number of surveys along Darby Creek, he decided to purchase land along the Scioto and so procured an assignment from Capt. Robert Vance of his rights in the patent for the land covered by “Survey 1393,” which today is bounded by Mound Street on the south, Guilford Avenue on the west and the Scioto River on the east and north. Unfortunately, owing to the fact that the law permitted oral assignment of these rights and did not require any specific formalities, we know nothing of the facts of this assignment.

On the land thus acquired, in 1797-98, Lucas Sullivant, after a freshet had interrupted one experiment, “platted a large town with lots extending east and west into the prairies from the glacial drift composing the higher ground,” naming it “Franklinton,” for Benjamin Franklin, perhaps, “the first civilized American,” who was but recently deceased. Today, the city succeeding that little borough, has so extended that within its corporate limits lies “Survey Number 2668,” the land which Mr. Sullivant personally entered and surveyed for “Richard Stephenson, heir at law of Col. Hugh Stephenson.”

Other settlements followed shortly. At Darby Creek, a group assembled and a town was later platted by Mr. Sullivant as “North Liberty, situated on the west bank of Darby Creek.” Sturdy pioneers soon gathered at the extreme edge of the black forest on the east bank on a site near Alum Creek, and at Gahanna.

Land of the Virginia Military District was worth the enormous sum of 25 cents to 50 cents per acre. Mr. Sullivant, therefore, sold his lots at the same price but, encountering difficulty at even this price, it is said, he gave away some lots on what is now known as Gift Street.

The plat of Franklinton is on record at Chillicothe. The two main streets were named for George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. The four lots at the center of the town, which was at the corner upon which we stand today, were appropriated for public buildings only . . . "a state-house or court-house and as a commons." If at first Mr. Sullivant gave away lots, in the deeds which are also recorded at Chillicothe, the early residents were wise enough to state that the consideration for the purchases was \$33.33, in some cases five shillings, and in others ten pounds, although, of course, these deeds may not represent the first purchases.

Joseph Dixon made the first family settlement in the autumn of 1797. The early purchasers, in order named, according to the records, were James Robinson, William Trimble, John Boyd, John Woolcutt, William Johnson, Noble Crawford, George Skidmore, John Lysle, Adam Hosack (the first postmaster), Robert Armstrong, William Domigan, Isaac Claypool, John Mitchell, John Brittle, Joseph Vance (later a captain in the War of 1812 and governor of Ohio), Michael Fisher, Samuel Finley, William Clearey, Andrew Rolston, John Edmiston (Lucas Sullivant's personal physician), Hugh Montgomery, Elijah Chenoweth, William Dunlop, Morris Brown, John Blair, Jacob King, Michael Stroup, William West and William Armstrong. The significant feature of these purchases is that 85 per cent of the purchasers were already residents of Franklinton. Others who came in 1797 were the Dearduffs, the McElvains (Andrew McElvain was the first mailman), Stokes, Ludwig Sells, the Ballentines, Jacob Grubb, William Fleming, Jacob Overdier, Arthur O'Harra (first justice of the peace), Joseph Foos, John Blair, John Dill (associate justice of court), and James Marshall.

Having already built or contemplating the erection of the first brick house in the section upon the premises of which we are to place this beautiful medallion, Lucas returned to Kentucky and brought back as his bride, Sarah Starling, a direct descendant of Sir William Starling, knighted in 1661 and a former lord mayor of London. She bore "the hardships and privations of the period with courage and a cheerful spirit." Though she died of fever contracted while ministering to the sick soldiers of the War of 1812, yet in the short space of time in which she lived in Franklinton, she earned the title of "Lady Bountiful."

While in Kentucky, being informed that he had dealt with the wrong parties, Lucas sought out the rightful legal heir of Richard Stephenson, obtained the patent and completed the purchase of the land from him on Christmas Day of the year

1800, although he had opened negotiations for this purchase at least a year earlier.

Shortly thereafter, some of the Stephenson heirs questioned the title of Lucas Sullivant to these lands. William Creighton, the first secretary of state of Ohio, was employed to defend. The case went to the United States Supreme Court where it was dismissed in favor of Mr. Sullivant. In the course of the case, Charles Lee, acting secretary of state and attorney general of the United States, rendered an opinion in support of Sullivant's counsel.

In 1805 or 1806, Lyne Starling, brother-in-law of Mr. Sullivant, came to Franklinton to assist him in his duties as county clerk and county recorder (Franklinton having been made the county seat of the newly-created Franklin County), and to join him in conducting a general store business. Mr. Starling, a bachelor "contemplating marriage," purchased "an elegant seat and tract of land opposite the town" on the "High Bank" of the river, where now is located the down-town district of Columbus. His title, too, was questioned in 1820. He employed Henry Clay as counsel but the latter was forced to resign to become secretary of state of the United States. Starling's victory was the occasion of a full town celebration, "full" being used in more than one sense.

In the meantime, Ohio had been swept into statehood, largely through "the urgent political necessities of the Jeffersonian Democracy." The popularity of Gov. St. Clair, a Federalist, with all the Federalist ideas of entrusting nothing to the people, had worked a popular distrust of him. He had "locked horns" too many times with the Territorial Legislature. So, in spite of the amusing argument of the Federalists that the Territorial Government had cost only \$5,000 a year and State Government would cost \$15,000, Ohio was organized as the seventeenth State, with Chillicothe as the capital. The exact time when the "Buckeye State" was admitted into the Union must remain a subject for legal and historical argument. Its status as a state of the United States was established no later than "March of 1803."

Ohio faced a complex situation. There were people from Connecticut in the northeastern portion; from New Jersey in the southwestern; from Massachusetts in the southeastern; Scotch-Irish and Germans, from Pennsylvania to the east of the Scioto and in the southwestern part of the State; and Cavalier Virginians west of the Scioto — all of pronounced and different ideas and principles. The Virginians of Chillicothe, opponents of St. Clair, had won heavily in the Constitutional Convention

of 1802. All power was given to the Legislature; very little to the executive; the judiciary was made elective—is it too much to say, that here was the first complete political democracy in history? The doctrine of the “Rights of Man” with government by consent, rather than by coercion of the governed, had prevailed against the advocate of paternalistic government!

Lucas Sullivant, fortunately, had remained out of state politics. He assisted materially, however, in the election to the State Senate of Gen. Joseph Foos, who had been the first hotel keeper and ferry owner of the village. Lyne Starling and he had already dreamed that the capital would be brought to Franklinton. The letters of Lyne Starling and the plat of the village of Franklinton are proof of this. When the legislative committee for the selection of the state capital, meeting at Franklinton with instructions to locate the seat of government not “more than 40 miles from the common center of the state,” reported in favor of Dublin, and against Franklinton, a syndicate, with the guidance and financial assistance of Lucas Sullivant, of owners of the land on the east bank of the river, “sufficiently elevated” to protect it from floods (which was the objection to Mr. Sullivant’s town), was organized. The proposition of this syndicate was accepted, largely through the influence of Senator Joseph Foos. Thus, “Columbus,” so named by Mr. Foos, was born as the “permanent seat of government of the state”—a city born a capital! Lots “traced out through a dense forest,” and covering 1200 acres surveyed on the “rectangular plan,” were sold on the same day as the declaration of the War of 1812, but, owing to the fact that but poor mail service if any, was in existence, word of the declaration was not received. Construction of the first state capital building and the first penitentiary, on West Mound Street, under the direction of the Legislature’s agent, Mr. Joel Wright, was soon begun.

The War of 1812 retarded the growth of Columbus but it was the “glorious” period of Franklinton, since the government headquarters for this section, under Gen. William Henry Harrison, was established there. Franklinton grew to so great a population as 200. Lucas Sullivant had supervised the construction of a court-house (on the present site of this school building), had built the county jail at a cost of \$80, assisted in the erection of a schoolhouse, had built, at his own expense, the first old brick meeting-house in which his wife might worship God, and signed, as trustee, the call to Rev. Dr. Hoge, an able missionary, who early came to the region “in company with the supreme judges who were about to open the first term of the Supreme Court ever held in Franklin County.” But still “the roads at all seasons

were nearly impassable; there was not in the county a chair for every two inhabitants, nor a knife and fork for every four." Travel was mainly upon the Scioto upon which Mr. Sullivant maintained boats. Social life must have been a great deal like the life of western towns "in the days of '49." The tavern business was most profitable, three being needed to supply the little village's wants. Once the whole vicinity turned out for a great "squirrel hunt." There was much hunting and fishing. But wolves and bears prohibited going far away merely for pleasure. Not until 1812, did a newspaper spring into existence. The National Road was not completed as far west as Columbus until 1830. No free school system provided education. It was not until 1813 that Lucas Sullivant built across the Scioto the first bridge within the compass of a hundred miles and later induced the government to run the National Road out what is now West Broad Street. The war revived the Indian peril to such a degree that a stockade had to be built around the courthouse, and to this came people from all the surrounding vicinity. During the war, however, at a large assembly in the grounds of Lucas Sullivant, Tarhe, "the Crane," the chief sachem for the Wyandot tribe, met with General Harrison and professed in the name of friendly tribes, the "most indissoluble attachment to the American government and a determination to adhere to the terms of the Treaty of Greenville." The war ended, Franklinton declined, its only activity, 'tis said, being "the tilling of Mr. Sullivant's rich prairie lands."

Columbus, on the contrary, rose rapidly. The first bank in this vicinity, with Lucas Sullivant as principal stockholder and president, later merged with the present First National Bank, and went to Columbus rather than to Franklinton. Franklinton's fate seemed sealed, but the settlement successfully avoided being incorporated into Columbus until 1862. Mr. Sullivant, however, did not live to see the county-seat transferred. Throughout his life, it remained an unincorporated village, never having a mayor, marshal or board of councilmen.

Lyne Starling, by special act of the Legislature, was authorized to proceed with the settlement of Lucas Sullivant's large estate. His greatest bequests were his sons: William, who became the greatest bryologist of his time; Michael, who in Illinois, administered, *Harper's Weekly* has said, "the largest and most enterprising farm in the United States"; and Joseph, whom Dr. T. C. Mendenhall, a member of the first faculty of the Ohio State University, has said, was responsible more than any other one person for the broad development of the Ohio State University and the Columbus public schools.

One of Lucas Sullivant's last expressed wishes was that he might return 100 years from that time "as he felt sure he would see steam wagons running over his lands at fifteen miles an hour." Joseph Sullivant, writing later in his invaluable biography of his father, jubilantly says that he has stood on the same spot and seen the steam wagons with their huge trains rushing across the bottoms at a rate of speed of more than 20 miles an hour. This is but one feature of the unusual development of our city and a reflection of human progress generally. Today 75 passenger-trains enter Columbus daily, each capable of attaining a rate of speed of more than 70 miles an hour. The recent construction of one railway line into Columbus cost \$14,000,000 or \$200,000 per mile.

Had there been no Lucas Sullivant, no Lyne Starling would have come to this section. Had there been no Lucas Sullivant, there would have been no Franklinton. While much credit must be awarded Gen. Joseph Foos and the members of the land syndicate, Alexander McLaughlin, John Kerr, and James Johnson, it may be said that, had there been no Lyne Starling, there would have been no Columbus—and this because of Mr. Starling's most valuable lands, considerable wealth, educational advantages and clear political vision. The conclusion, that had there been no Franklinton there would have been no Columbus, is reiterated.

Both logic and fact lead to the further conclusion that the founder of Franklinton became the father of Columbus.

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LUCAS SULLIVANT--HIS PERSONALITY AND ADVENTURES

BY MISS JANE D. SULLIVANT.*

Aside from court records and a few lingering oral traditions, the principal source of information concerning the life and personality of Lucas Sullivan, is to be found in the *Family Memorial*, written and published for private distribution by his youngest son, Mr. Joseph Sullivan, in 1873. Upon this source all subsequent histories of Franklinton, and even of Columbus and Franklin County have drawn freely, though in many cases without crediting the author.

In view of this fact, and since Mr. Andrew D. Rodgers, in the address published on the foregoing pages, has very properly confined himself largely to the legal aspects of his subject, it may not be amiss to give here a more personal view of Lucas Sullivan, from his own son's account, and to relate some of the adventures and experiences which he endured in the hazardous undertaking of surveying in the wilderness; as well as to give a glimpse of what it meant a hundred years ago to live here on the very borders of civilization.

LUCAS SULLIVANT.

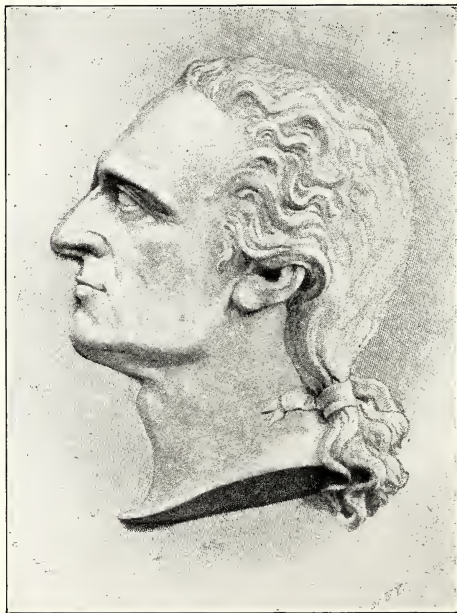
Lucas Sullivan was born in September, 1765, in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, and, when about sixteen years of age, volunteered to accompany an expedition destined for Augusta and other then western counties, which were threatened with an Indian invasion. His courage and good conduct during that ex-

* Selections from *Genealogy and Family Memorial*, compiled by Miss Jane D. Sullivan, granddaughter of Lucas Sullivan.

pedition were such as to receive the public commendation of his commanding officer.

* * * * *

Having been left an orphan and alone in the world while yet a youth, he acquired knowledge and some skill as a surveyor, after the war, and removed to Kentucky. Here he was appointed a deputy surveyor by Colonel Anderson, and was one of the



LUCAS SULLIVANT

From a Medallion by J. K. Campbell.

band of bold and hardy adventurers who, at a very early day, penetrated the unbroken wilderness which then covered the present state of Ohio.

The land district of which we are speaking was opened in 1787, and soon afterward the surveyors, Massie, Sullivant, Beasley, O'Banion, McArthur and others, commenced their adven-

turous and dangerous career betwixt the Scioto and Miami Rivers, in the "Virginia Military Land District."

In some of his first attempts, Mr. Sullivant was driven back by the Indians, but finally, having formed and equipped a larger surveying party at Limestone, (now Maysville), Kentucky, he bade farewell to his friends, and, with a stout heart, equal to any fate, turned his back upon civilization and the settlements, and, striking out through the wilderness, arrived in due time upon the Scioto, and commenced his operations in the territory of the present Franklin County. His party consisted of about twenty men, including surveyors, chain-carriers, markers, huntsmen, scouts and pack-horse men with pack-horses, carrying blankets, provisions, axes, kettles and camp equipage.

Of provisions they carried only some flour, bacon and salt, depending for their chief subsistence upon the skill of the hunters and the abundance of wild game, such as bears, deer and turkeys. When scarce of flour they substituted for their bread the dry breast meat of the wild turkey, or the lean flesh of the deer, or jerked venison, as it was called, from the peculiar mode of its preparation; and the fat and greasy bear meat furnished a wholesome and palatable substitute for bacon. Many times, scarce of provisions, they were hungry and sore tried for a full meal, especially when in the vicinity of parties of Indians liable to be attracted by the ring of the hunter's rifle.

Wolves were constant visitors, barking and howling about the camp, lying in wait for any odd scraps, and the panther (*Felis concolor*), or American cougar, was more than once found prowling around, most probably attracted by the venison which was generally in good supply in their camp.

While surveying on Deer Creek in the present Madison County, Mr. Sullivant was in advance running his line, when suddenly he encountered a Frenchman on horseback accompanied by two Indians on foot, and, apprehending nothing from so small a party, he passed on after exchanging salutations and signs of amity. Soon after, hearing gun shots, he came quickly back, and found that the rear guard of his own party, upon discovering the Indians, had fired upon them, killing the Frenchman, who was most probably a trader among them. When he fell, one of the Indians instantly sprang upon the horse and dashed away; the other plunged down the bank of the creek and disappeared. Mr. Sullivant was much provoked, and severely reprimanded his men for this unnecessary attack, and, believing it would soon be followed by a retaliation from the Indian villages on the Scioto, closed up his work as soon as possible and left the neighborhood.

Jonathan Alder, well-known to our old citizens, had been captured in Virginia, when he was about nine years old, by a roving party of Indians, and carried into Ohio, where he was adopted into a family, and, becoming a member of the tribe by appropriate rites and ceremonies, he married and lived among them for many years. After the settlement of the county, he bought land of my father, and was a frequent visitor at our house in my boyhood.

Although I had heard my father relate the incidents of the Deer Creek attack and the consequences that followed, it was gratifying to learn further particulars from Alder, who told me he was still living with the Indians, and, at this very time was with a small party conveying a lame and sick man to a famous doctor, living at the Mingo town, or encampment, on the east bank of the Scioto, one mile and a half below the present city of Columbus. He said they were so near as to distinctly hear the gunshots and shouts of my father's party, and having sent one of the number to ascertain the cause, and finding it was from a body of white men, they became very much alarmed, and, apprehending an attack, stole away as quietly as possible from so dangerous a vicinity, and traveling nearly all night, they arrived at their destination early in the afternoon of the next day, and found that the Indian who had taken the Frenchman's horse had arrived in the morning before them.

This fellow was the hero of the hour, magnifying the sad affair into a desperate and long continued fight, of which he was the sole survivor, and from which he had escaped after deeds of unwonted valor. It is true his tale seemed somewhat marvelous and rather incredible, as he had neither wounds nor scalps to show, but, as there was none to contradict, his story passed current, and indeed seemed to be strongly confirmed when Alder and his party related what they knew. The camp was hardly large enough to contain the vain-glorious boaster, and he was strutting about in full feather when, unfortunately for his reputation, the other Indian, who had precipitated himself over the bank of the creek, and hid in a pile of driftwood, now, on the second day, made his appearance and gave a true version of events. Whereupon, said Alder, with his peculiar and quaint laugh, the first fellow encountered such a storm of ridicule and reproach that he was driven from the camp village.

I asked Alder what ailed the sick man and what became of him. He replied that he had a painful and swollen knee, and in the opinion of the doctor, was bewitched generally, and, from the signs, he knew it was the work of a certain woman of the tribe. The doctor, after half roasting his patient with hot stones,

gave him a decoction of herbs to drink, and then pretty nearly melted him with a tremendous sweat, and, rubbing him off, stretched him on his blankets, and, after considerable singing, smoking and powwowing, proceeded to scarify the knee, and (according to Alder), drew therefrom a mussel-shell about six inches long, remarking that now he had got that thing out, the man would get well, but that the woman would die. I remarked, "I don't think such a thing possible, Mr. Alder." "Oh! but I stood by and saw it done, and, sure enough, the woman did die in three weeks, and the man got well." No doubt, the cunning old doctor and conjurer was an expert at sleight of hand, and took measures to secure the fulfillment of his prophecy about the poor woman, and, perhaps at the same time, to gratify some private grudge, and establish his own reputation more firmly.

After a consultation was held at the Mingo village, an expedition was sent out to capture or destroy the surveying party; but, in anticipation of such a procedure, Mr. Sullivant was performing his last day's work, preparatory to leaving the vicinity, when, on the fourth day from the affair of the Frenchman, and late in the afternoon, while engaged in running and closing up the last lines of his surveys, and being, as usual, in advance, he discovered a body of savages, somewhat larger than his own party, crossing a high grassed prairie or glade, and at such a distance that the parties would meet if he continued his course. He signaled his men to squat in the grass, and, when they got together, he said: "Now, here is a chance for a fight if you desire it. Say the word and we will go in. It is for you to determine." A council was held, and it was decided to let the Indians pass by, and for this course none were more clamorous than, or so strenuous as, those who, with insolent bravado, had scoffed, but a few days before, at any danger likely to result from their attack upon the Frenchman and his little party.

Mr. Sullivant remarked: "It has turned out just as I expected, for those most restive and insubordinate under wholesome discipline always prove the most unready and cowardly in the presence of real danger." After directing the men to keep together, and assist each other in any emergency, he pointed out the direction of Limestone, in case they became separated, and told them they were not to fire a gun, as it would reveal their locality to the Indians. Rising from concealment, he proceeded to finish his last line and close the survey at the place of beginning. This was effected just at twilight, and my father was making his last entry in his field book, when a flock of turkeys nearby began to fly up in the trees to roost. This sudden temptation was too much for some of the men and several shots

were fired. My father warned the men to be ready, for the Indians were within hearing and would be on them in a few minutes. He had scarcely ceased speaking, when they rushed upon them with a whoop and a volley. He lifted his compass, which was on the Jacob's staff standing beside him, and tossing it into a fallen tree top, unslung the light shotgun he carried strapped on his back, and fired at an Indian who was advancing upon him with uplifted tomahawk, and, turning about to look for his men, saw they were in a panic and rapidly dispersing, and he also took to his heels, and fortunately, in about a quarter of a mile, fell in with six of his men. Favored in their flight by the darkness, and shaping their course by the stars, they journeyed all night and most of the next day before halting.

The third night, as they were traveling along, footsore and weary, they heard voices which seemed to proceed from a hillock in front, and they stopped and hailed. The other party, discovering them at the same moment, challenged and ordered a halt. A parley ensued, when, to their great surprise, those on the hill appeared to be the other and larger party of their own men. But no advance was made by either side, each fearing the other might be a decoy in the hands of the Indians, for it was not an uncommon trick for the cunning savages to compel their unfortunate prisoners to play such a part.

After numerous questions and inquiries, and a good deal of talk on both sides, the larger body insisted, under threat of an immediate volley, that the advance should be made by the smaller party. Mr. Sullivant handed his note-book and papers to his own men, with the request to deliver them to his friends in Kentucky in case anything should happen to him and they be fortunate enough to escape, and promising to give them warning, at all hazards, if there was treachery in the case, he went forward alone, and finding all right, his own little party advanced and they had a joyful meeting in the wilderness.

Upon comparing experiences, they found that two men were missing, Murray, and another whose name I do not recollect, who had fallen at the fire of the Indians when they made their attack.

An interesting sequel to the incidents here related is the fact that years afterward, when Madison County was settling, and my father had sold this tract of land, and it was being cleared up, the compass was found but little injured, where it had been flung, and having been recovered, is still carefully preserved by the writer as a memento of those perilous times.

Upon one expedition, Mr. Sullivant had appointed a rendezvous for his party at the Forks of the Scioto, by which name the junction of this river and Whetstone (now called Olentangy) was known by the early surveyors, and was so designated on their maps. He directed his men, if he was not present by a certain time, to leave a canoe for him and proceed up the river, and await his arrival at the mouth of the stream now known as Mill Creek. Mr. Sullivant was detained and did not join his men at the Forks of the Scioto, but found, on his arrival, a canoe which had been left according to his directions. It was late in the evening, but he embarked immediately, intending to proceed up the river a few miles before encamping.

Just after pushing out, he discovered three Indians lurking in the grove of great sycamores that used to stand on the west bank of the Whetstone. He pushed on up the river, keeping a sharp lookout, and soon found that the Indians were cautiously following, and there was no further doubt as to their intention, which was to pursue and come upon him after he had encamped for the night.

At dusk, having reached the wooded island opposite the stone quarry, three miles above the present site of Columbus, he took the north channel and landed on the island. Here, having seen that his pursuers were still following, he proceeded rather ostentatiously to haul up his canoe and secure it for the night, in full view of the Indians, and began to cut bushes and drive stakes, as if preparing for a camp, and soon kindled, on purpose, a small and smoky fire, sufficient to attract attention, but without giving much light.

It having, by this time, become fairly dark, he took his gun, compass and pack, and quickly, but quietly, crossed the island and waded across the river to the opposite side, and proceeding but a little way, stopped to rest and eat some supper. He trusted in his stratagem to deceive the Indians, who, he believed, would wait, according to their usual custom, until far into the night before coming upon their unsuspecting victim when wrapped in profound sleep, and, before this attempt, he hoped to be far on his way toward his men, whom he did join next evening.

Soon after he reached the west side of the river the moon rose, and, tearing a leaf from his note-book, he wrote, as well as the light permitted, a brief account of the circumstances, and signing his name, placed it in a cleft stick stuck into the ground, and, before leaving, carved his initials and the date on the bark of a tree.

A long time afterward, when botanizing on the bank of the river above the quarry, I took refuge from a passing shower under the spreading branches of a large sugar-tree. Some ancient ax marks on the bark attracted my attention, and passing around the tree, I was surprised at seeing the letters "L. S." and a date on the bark. This event, which I had heard related in my boyhood, instantly occurred to me, and I perceived I was standing on the precise spot where my father had left this memorial of himself, in the solitude of the wilderness, near fifty years before, when fleeing for his life, with naught but his own courage and self-reliance to sustain him.

* * * * *

To our present generation the mention of travel by canoe may appear strange, and I will here state that, before there were any mill-dams or obstructions, the Scioto River furnished the most easy access to the valley, and, during the early settlement of the State, many families and immigrants availed themselves of the transport by pirogues and canoes to reach Piketon, Chillicothe, Circleville, and other places, and the first settlers in the town of Franklinton came in canoes.

* * * * *

The want of grist-mills was severely felt by the early settlers. What few mills were in the county were distant from Franklinton and not convenient of access, and the laborious process by hand mills and graters was frequently resorted to, to obtain a coarse flour and meal for hoe-cakes. The old-fashioned hominy mortar, constructed out of a log, was in constant requisition, the hominy pot was kept hot winter and summer, and fried hominy was no mean substitute for bread.

* * * * *

At and previous to this time, there prevailed a very uneasy feeling in the public mind, owing to the uncertain and even unfriendly disposition manifested by the Indian tribes still residing within our borders. An Indian war had only been averted by the opportune victory of General Harrison over the Indians, at the famous battle of Tippecanoe, in the Indiana Territory in the year 1811.

Now, in the summer of 1812, they were again restive, having been tampered with and much demoralized by the celebrated Prophet and his distinguished brother, Tecumseh, a chief among the Shawnees. Our difficulties with Great Britain resulted in a declaration of war against that power in June, 1812. The English Government had its agents among the Indians of the Northwest, who were furnishing arms and inciting them to hostility

against our unprotected and exposed settlements, and the inhabitants, therefore, had just grounds for their apprehensions.

The Ohio troops, intended for the protection of our borders and to operate against the British forces in Upper Canada, were assembled at Franklinton, Dayton, and Urbana, and, under the lead of our patriotic Governor Meigs, were marched a short distance from the latter place, and turned over to the command of General Hull. He marched to Detroit, and the unfortunate and unnecessary surrender of his whole army to an inferior force of British and Indians, without so much as striking a blow, is a matter of history known to all.

Such an unlooked-for and astounding blow almost paralyzed the country and created great alarm, for many of the Indian tribes, encouraged by this untoward event, and urged by the British agents, now openly took sides against us. Months of apprehension supervened, and a feverish anxiety infected the whole community, for Franklinton was really a frontier settlement, and the inhabitants were in constant dread, lest, by some sudden attack, their houses should be given to the flames and their wives and little ones fall a prey to the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the remorseless savages, who spared neither sex nor age, and marked their track with fire and blood.

Indian alarms were frequent, and, on such occasions, the terrified settlers from up Darby Creek, Sells' settlement on the Scioto, from Delaware and Worthington and the adjacent regions, came flocking into Franklinton, and at one time a ditch and stockade was commenced around the Court-house, to convert it into a citadel.

During this troublesome and exciting period, Mr. Sullivant rendered efficient aid, and, by his own calmness and conduct, did much to allay excitement and restore courage and confidence, for the citizens looked much to him. He kept two scouts of his own, well skilled in wood-craft and knowledge of Indian signs, constantly on duty for some weeks, as far up as the present Zanesfield, in Logan County, who reported to him at short intervals. This inspired confidence, and gave assurance that timely warning would be given of any real Indian invasion, and it became a saying with many that, "when Sullivant went into a stockade, or prepared to fly with his family, they would follow, but not until then."

The war proceeded with varying success, till the disastrous defeat of our forces under General Winchester, and the atrocious murder of our wounded and prisoners at Frenchtown (more commonly known as the battle of the River Raisin), under the very eye of Proctor, the British commander, showing an utter

disregard for the rules of civilized warfare, carried sorrow and mourning into many a household in Kentucky, and still further revived and intensified the dread of savage invasion.

Under the circumstances, it was deemed highly important that the Ohio tribes, who had hitherto remained neutral, should now be induced to take an active part on behalf of the Government in the ensuing campaign, or at least give a guarantee of their peaceful intention by removing, with their families, within the white settlements.

Accordingly, a meeting was arranged and held on June 21st, 1813, on the grounds of Mr. Sullivant at Franklinton. The Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandot, and Seneca tribes were represented by about fifty of the chiefs and warriors. General Harrison represented the Government, and with him were his staff and a brilliant array of officers in full uniform. Behind was a detachment of soldiers. In his front were the Indians. Around all were the inhabitants of the region far and near, with many a mother and maid, as interested spectators.

The General began to speak in calm and measured tones befitting the grave occasion, but an undefined oppression seemed to hold all in suspense, as, with silent and almost breathless attention, they waited the result of the General's words, which seemed to fall on dull ears, as the Indians sat with unmoved countenances and smoked on in stolid silence. At length the persuasive voice of the great commander struck a responsive chord, and, when Tarhe, "the Crane," the great Wyandot chief, slowly rose to his feet, and, standing for a moment in a graceful and commanding attitude, made a brief reply, and then, with others, pressed forward to grasp the hand of Harrison, not only in token of amity, but in agreement to stand as a barrier on our exposed border, a terrible doubt and apprehension was lifted from the hearts of all. Jubilant shouts rent the air, women wept for joy, and stalwart men thrilled with pleasure as they now thought of the assured safety of their wives and children from a cruel and stealthy foe, and they prepared at once, with cheerful alacrity, to go forth to the impending battles.

* * * * *

In 1816, having procured a charter from the Legislature, Mr. Sullivant built a large and expensive toll-bridge across the river between Franklinton and Columbus. This bridge served all the traffic crossing the river until 1833 when the Government bridge was built.

About 1820, Mr. Sullivant and a few other citizens built the Columbus Academy, a one-story two-roomed frame building,

which stood near the site of the present Second Presbyterian Church on Third Street*. This schoolhouse stood away out in the commons among the pawpaw bushes, and in all the neighborhood there were but three houses east of High Street at this time. There were none south on Third or Fourth Streets, which were covered with stumps and bushes in that direction, and all beyond Fourth Street were out-lots, used for meadows and cow pastures, and where, occasionally, a few patches of corn were cultivated.

* * * * *

In person, Mr. Sullivant was of medium height, muscular and well proportioned, quick and active in his movements, with an erect carriage and a good walk, a well-balanced head, finished off with a cue, which he always wore; a broad and high forehead, an aquiline nose, and a blue-gray eye, a firm mouth and square chin. He was firm and positive in his opinions, but courteous in manners and expression, prompt and decisive to act upon his convictions, and altogether a man of forcible character, exercising an influence over those with whom he came in contact.

He died August 8th, 1823, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

The following obituary notice, copied from the *Columbus Gazette* of August 14, 1823, was written by some friend who knew him well:

DIED

In Franklinton, on Friday last, Lucas Sullivant, Esq. In the death of this active and enterprising citizen, the community has lost a member whose place can not well be supplied, his relations a valuable friend, and his children a beneficent protector. He possessed a great spirit of liberality, which an ample fortune, acquired by his own great industry, enabled him to gratify to an uncommon extent. He was a man of strict integrity, of the most persevering industry and rigid economy. He was a kind and indulgent father, a sincere and hospitable friend, a generous neighbor, and the poor were never turned away empty from his well-filled granaries.

Dr. John M. Edmiston, distinguished physician, who came here in 1812, was a gentleman of much intelligence and fine culture. He was the personal friend and attending physician, and much attached to Mr. Sullivant, fond of visiting him and talking with him, holding him in high estimation.

He used to say of Mr. Sullivant: "Take him all in all, with his strong and vigorous intellect, his knowledge of human nature, his decision of character, good judgment, high sense of personal honor and integrity, he is one of the most remarkable men I ever knew. He seemed born to be a leader, and in whatever direction he had turned his attention, he would have distinguished himself and become a man of mark."

* This building was razed some years ago.

SARAH STARLING SULLIVANT.

Sarah Starling, second daughter and fourth child of Col. William Starling and Susanna, his wife, married Lucas Sullivan, and removed with him to the new village of Franklinton, where he owned large and valuable estates. This was before Ohio was a State, and while it was yet an almost unbroken wilderness, but the young wife was equal to the situation and bore the hardships and privations of the period with courage and a cheerful spirit.

In 1812, after the surrender of General Hull to the British forces, at Detroit, the whole frontier was exposed to an irruption of bloody savages, the allies of Great Britain. For months the inhabitants were harassed with fears of such an invasion, and indeed Indian alarms were more than once wide-spread and prevalent, all of which she bore with calmness and fortitude.

Calls for volunteers were frequent on such occasions, and I suppose it was when my father was so absent that, one night when I was sleeping with my mother, "Dragon," an unusually large and intelligent mastiff, kept up a fierce barking, displaying an extraordinary excitement, and ever and anon taking post under my mother's window, which seemed the special object of his defense, she drew me up closer, saying: "I am afraid 'Old Drag' smells Indians."

On another occasion, when the newsboy brought in the weekly copy of the *Freeman's Chronicle*, a paragraph met her eye, and, letting the paper fall, she exclaimed: "Thank God, our troops have taken Malden." Calling me to her, with the tears standing in her eyes, she again said: "My son, thank God, our troops have taken Malden."* Yes, "our troops have taken Malden," were words of great significance, and full of comfort to the women of those days, who devoutly thanked God that this stronghold of the savages had been destroyed—a place where the bloody and reeking scalps of our women and children were paid for with British gold!

In these days of immunity from Indian alarms, it is difficult to convey any adequate idea of the dread of attack and massacre that possessed all classes at that time. It must be remembered, however, that the horrible atrocities, committed in the Indian border wars of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Ohio, were yet fresh in the recollection of most of the adult population of that period. He who has taken part in Indian warfare, or once heard the war-cry of the savage, will never forget how, for the time being, it strikes terror and apprehension to the stoutest heart, and *he only* can fully understand and appreciate the dread of the cruelties and mutilations which were the general conse-

*Malden, in Upper Canada, was the headquarters of the hostile Indians, where they received arms and outfits from the English agents.

quences and accompaniments of an irruption of bloody and remorseless savages.

After the battle of the Thames in Upper Canada in October, 1813, and the defeat of General Proctor with his Indian allies, and the death of their leader, Tecumseh, which occurred at the same time, apprehension from the Indians, in a great measure, subsided, and large parties of Ohio tribes from Sandusky, Maca-cheek, and other villages and camps on the headwaters of the Scioto, were frequent traders in Franklinton with Lincoln Goodale, R. W. McCoy, Henry Brown, Starling and DeLashmutt, Samuel Barr, and other merchants, or as they were called in those days, "store-keepers." The Indians brought furs and skins, baskets, maple-sugar, cranberries, dried venison, hams, etc., which they sold for hard silver, refusing all kinds of paper money, and, as they neither asked for nor gave trust, they generally bought or sold one thing at a time, paying out or receiving the price, as the case might be, closing each transaction, never making a bill, or paying for the whole in a lump. They bought powder and lead, tobacco, knives and squaw-axes, paints for the face, broad-cloth and squaw-cloth, bright calicoes and handkerchiefs, blankets, and above all, but lastly, a good supply of whisky, for it was their custom, after completing their purchases, to celebrate the occasion by a "high drunk," in which all participated save a few old men and women selected to take care of the rest, and these, no doubt, afterward had their share in compensation for present self-denial. These drunken orgies would last for three or four days, and were generally accompanied with much singing, howling and dancing, alternated with brawls and fighting.

Franklinton was the rendezvous of the second army under Harrison, gathered after Hull's surrender, and the Kentucky troops, under the command of the gallant and venerable Governor Shelby, were encamped on the premises of Mr. Sullivant, and his house was the welcomed resort of the officers and men, many of whom were personal friends and acquaintances of himself and his wife.

She was a ministering spirit to the sick soldiers, in camp and hospital, supplying their wants from her own table and stores. In 1814, a malignant and contagious typhus, or cold plague, as it was called, broke out in camp, and she contracted the disease, of which she died April 28th of that year.

She was very much beloved and respected by all who knew her, and many an immigrant, in the early settlement of the country, had cause to bless her, for, to the poor and needy, the sick or afflicted, she was indeed a "Lady Bountiful," and the memory of her gentle manners, her good deeds and abounding charities long survived her.

REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY THE EDITOR

“VERILY THE WORLD DO MOVE”

Under this caption the Lancaster *Daily Eagle*, of September 13, 1927, publishes the following editorial:

In another portion of this paper, we reproduce, possibly for the twentieth time, a resolution supposed to have been passed by a Lancaster School Board away back, a hundred years ago, in 1828. These records of the school board of that period are not obtainable, and even though they were, this resolution denying the use of a schoolroom for a public debate as to whether or not railroads were practical, would be absent from the minutes of the Lancaster School Board's session of that date.

We were inclined for a time to take this matter as an insult upon the discernment of our early citizenship, which for a century or more has boasted of an intelligence of the superior stage. Lancaster has produced three cabinet officers, Ewing of the Treasury and Interior Department, Stansberry of the Attorney General's office, and John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury under McKinley, and one of the greatest generals of the Civil War, General Sherman. They are our jewels and we are proud of them.

In those early days, along about the time that a Lancaster School Board was supposed to have thought that telegraphs and railroads were impossibilities and rank infidelity, our fair city was credited with having the best and brainiest group of lawyers of any county in the state and several educators and teachers of national repute.

In Mr. Will Scott's article in another column it is plainly shown that this resolution was not the product of a Lancaster School Board, but of the South Charleston, Ohio, skeptics, a little village more than fifty miles away. But even though it should have had its birth in Lancaster, does the passage of a resolution like that show a lack of learning or a deficiency of grey matter?

No, absolutely not.

Why, it has only been a few weeks ago that our beloved Lindbergh hopped off from New York to the Le Bourget Field of France, and what did the New Yorkers say? Ninety-nine out of a hundred called him the "flying fool," and many still so believe, although they are afraid to say it. Edison was declared "crazy" when he claimed that he would light the world with electricity and the Wright Brothers were declared everything almost, when they claimed they could fly with a heavier-than-air machine.

And while Lancaster does not claim the authorship of that famous resolution, which declared that on a railroad you could travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour, we really believe that there were some people in Lancaster who believed the same, as the South Charleston, Ohio, School Board, believed a hundred years ago.

Verily, the world do move.

The article by Mr. Will Scott, to which reference is made, is published elsewhere in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

DR. HERVEY SCOTT

Judge Van A. Snider, of Lancaster, Ohio, has forwarded to us a biographical sketch of Dr. Hervey Scott, quoted from the *Centennial History of Lancaster*, written by C. M. L. Wiseman, and published in 1898. It is here reproduced in full.

Dr. Hervey Scott, the subject of this sketch, was born near Old Town, Greene County, Ohio, January 30, 1809. He remained on his father's farm until his seventeenth birthday, when he took up his residence with the family of William Milton, in South Charleston, Clark County, Ohio. At this place he attended school and learned the trade of manufacturing spinning-wheels. When he was twenty-four years of age, he gave his entire attention to the study of medicine, attending the Ohio Medical College, in Cincinnati. In 1836, he entered the practice of his chosen profession and continued for about three years, when he turned his attention to dentistry, which calling he followed in Lancaster for more than forty years.

During most of his life, especially the latter part, Dr. Scott manifested a decided liking for journalistic work, and his many historical and pioneer sketches have attracted attention. In 1859,

he bought the *Lancaster Gazette* and *American Democrat*, consolidating the two papers, placing the office under the supervision of his son, Hervey.

The History of Fairfield County, which made its advent in 1876, was a very meritorious production of Dr. Scott. It was highly appreciated by our people, especially the older ones. He possessed a most wonderful memory with regard to incidents and events of years long gone by, and his general knowledge and recollections of early pioneer life were decidedly accurate.

At the time of his death, which occurred at Toledo, in September, 1895, Dr. Scott was in his eighty-seventh year. He possessed a wonderfully strong physical organization, coming from a hardy race of people.

His many acts of kindness and charity extended to those in need, his deferential bearing toward his seniors and constant attention to the sick, will be recalled by many of our citizens.

QUARTERMASTER'S RECORD BOOK—1793

Through the interest of Mr. Frazer E. Wilson, of Greenville, Ohio, the Society has come into the possession of a Quartermaster's Record Book, which was kept in old Fort Washington, the site of which is now included in the city of Cincinnati.

This is a record of 238 receipts for supplies issued by the Quartermaster, and other routine matters in his line of duty in the old Fort from April 24 to June 14, 1793, while preparing for his expedition against the Indians of the Maumee Valley.

The record, which had been handed down as an heirloom for two or three generations, became the property of George W. Worley, of Richmond, Indiana, from whom it was purchased by Mr. Wilson and presented to this Society.

Mr. Worley's grandfather, James Worley, served in General Wayne's army and in the War of 1812.

The record has been somewhat marred by the

owners through whose hands it has passed in the long period since it was originally written. They have recorded in it quaint receipts, accounts and other matters of little or no value today. For a time it appears to have been used as a copy-book. It is, however, in spite of these insertions, a venerable, interesting and legible document, which throws strong sidelights on the activities of the frontier army during this interesting period.

JOSEPH GREEN BUTLER, JR.

Joseph Green Butler, Jr., pioneer iron manufacturer, philanthropist and author, died at his home in Youngstown, Ohio, December 19, 1927. Had he lived two days longer, he would have been 87 years old. He was born at Temperance Furnace, Mercer County, Pennsylvania, December 21, 1840. He was the son of Joseph Green and Temperance (Orwig) Butler. His father was an iron manufacturer and blast-furnace expert. His mother was descended from one of the oldest families in Berks County, Pennsylvania.

The Butler family lineage has been traced to those bearing that name who went to Ireland in the reign of Henry II. The family emigrated to America in the eighteenth century and seven members had commissions in the American Army during the Revolution.

Col. Thomas Butler, a close friend of George Washington, was a charcoal contractor and furnished fuel for furnaces in Pennsylvania. His son, Joseph, was an iron master at Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. His son, Joseph Green Butler, Sr., followed the iron business for some time in central Pennsylvania. Later he moved westward and operated a furnace at New Wilmington, Penn-

sylvania, succeeding William McKinley, Sr., father of President McKinley, as manager.

Joseph Green Butler, Jr., was a third son and was



JOSEPH GREEN BUTLER, JR.

one year old when the family moved to Niles, Ohio. He spent most of his boyhood there, attending the village school with William McKinley, afterward president of the United States. The two were intimate and lifetime

friends. In their boyhood days, while in the Mahoning River, young Butler is said to have rescued William McKinley, when he was on the verge of drowning.

At the age of fifteen, Mr. Butler entered a store in Niles, as clerk, but soon afterward became a shipping-clerk in the iron-works of James Ward and Company. He was promoted to financial manager, a position which he held from 1858 to 1863. He was with Hale and Ayer, of Chicago, from 1863 to 1866. In the latter year, he became manager of the Girard Iron Company, Girard, Ohio, and was associated with Ohio's War Governor, David Tod, William Ward and William Richards. They built the first blast-furnace, in the Mahoning Valley, to be equipped with a closed top, and conducted the business for twelve years. At the end of this time, Mr. Butler sold his interests and became manager of the Brier Hill Iron Company, Youngstown, Ohio. This was a large and successful iron-making establishment, operating blast-furnaces and mining coal on a large scale.

Subsequently, Mr. Butler was prominently connected with many manufacturing enterprises. He has properly been regarded as perhaps the most potent personal influence in establishing the great iron industries of the Mahoning Valley.

He was one of the organizers of the Ohio Steel Company, the first concern to make steel in the Mahoning Valley. He was a director of the American Iron and Steel Institute; president of the Portage Silica Company; vice president of the Brier Hill Steel Company; chairman of the board of the Bessemer Limestone and Cement Company; director of the Youngstown Sheet

and Tube Company, Pennsylvania and Lake Erie Dock Company, Cleveland and Mahoning Valley Railway Company, Pittsburgh, Youngstown and Ashtabula Railway Company, Pennsylvania and Ohio Light and Power Company, Youngstown and Suburban Railway Company, the First National Bank and of numerous lesser enterprises.

Mr. Butler took an active interest in politics. This dated from his early years. He used to relate incidents in the life of Governor Tod; and was present when the latter received a telegram from Abraham Lincoln tendering him the position of Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, which office he declined. Mr. Butler was a Republican. He was delegate to three national conventions of that party the last of which was held in Chicago, in 1920.

Mr. Butler is the author of a number of books written in the later years of his life and devoted largely to the history of the iron industry in the Mahoning Valley and his contact with noted men and events covering the interesting period of his lifetime. Following is a list of his principal works:

Life of William McKinley, 1900; *First Trip Across the Continent*, 1904; *First Trip Abroad*, 1906; *Presidents I Have Seen and Known*, 1910; *A Journey Through France in Wartime*, 1917; *Fifty Years of Iron and Steel*, 1917; *History of Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley*, in three volumes, 1921; and *Recollections of Men and Events — an Autobiography*, 1925.

The last-named was reviewed in the *QUARTERLY* of July, 1925.

In his "Personal Reminiscences," which form the concluding chapter of his *History of Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley*, Vol. I, he tells how he got into the iron business:

In 1857, James Ward, Sr., came into the company store at Niles, where my father had charge, and told him that the shipping clerk in the mill was "on a spreg," and that he would have to borrow one of the clerks until this man sobered up. Father said: "There are three of them; take your pick of the lot." Mr. Ward looked the boys over and chose me, and that was the way I got into the iron business.

Mr. Butler contributed liberally of his wealth to many enterprises and institutions. The National McKinley Birthplace Memorial, in Niles, Ohio, is a monument to his public spirit and his devotion to his lifelong friend. To the building of this memorial he gave freely of his time and money, contributing to the endowment fund alone an initial subscription of \$100,000. His interest in art extended over many years. His desire was to establish in his home city an institution that should continually foster and encourage a similar interest among the rising generation. He erected, in the city of Youngstown, an institution known as the Butler Art Institute. To this he contributed rare works of art collected during his lifetime and, in his will, he left to the Institute the large residue of his fortune, estimated at more than one million dollars.

Through the years to come, the McKinley Memorial, in Niles, and the Butler Art Institute, in Youngstown, will attract an ever-increasing number of visitors to these two cities.

He belonged to many associations — industrial and

learned—and was a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

Joseph Green Butler, Jr., married Harriet Voorhes Ingersoll, of Honesdale, Pennsylvania, January 10, 1866. Of this union were born Mrs. Blanche (Butler) Ford, Mrs. Grace Ingersoll (Butler) McGraw, and Mr. Henry A. Butler. The latter two survive. Mrs. Butler died in 1921.

Mr. Butler was familiarly known as "Uncle Joe," and his wide circle of acquaintances and friends felt a personal loss, when they learned that his death had come on the eve of the celebration of his eighty-seven years of life in the Mahoning Valley.

PROF. AZARIAH SMITH ROOT

A librarian of state, national and international reputation died at his home in Oberlin, Ohio, Sunday, October 2, 1927. He was born at Middlefield, Massachusetts, February 3, 1862. He was the son of Solomon F. and Anna (Smith) Root.

He came as a student to Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, from Dalton, Massachusetts, in 1879. He was graduated from the College with the degree of A. B., in 1884, and received his A. M. degree in 1887. He was a law student at Boston University from 1884 to 1885; cataloguer in the Oberlin College Library from 1885 to 1886, and student at Harvard Law School from 1886 to 1887 and at the University of Göttingen, Germany, in 1898 and 1899. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

For forty years Professor Root was librarian of the Oberlin College Library; and was, for some time, an annual lecturer before the Library Schools of Columbia,

Western Reserve and Michigan Universities and Pratt Institute. During 1916 and 1917, he was acting director of the New York Public Library School. He was president of the Ohio Library Association in 1901 and 1914-1915; of the American Library Association, 1921-1922; of the Bibliographical Society of America, 1909-1912 and 1923-1926. He was also a director of the American Correspondence School of Librarianship.

He was active in temperance work. With Howard Russell, A. G. Comings, J. P. Henderson, H. M. Tenney and other prominent citizens of Oberlin, he assisted in organizing the Anti-Saloon League of America. Throughout the remainder of his life he was a faithful supporter of this organization.

In his long service as librarian of the Oberlin College Library, he built up what is said to be the largest college library in the world. When he entered upon his duties in this institution, it numbered 14,000 volumes. When he died, it had grown to 507,587 volumes, most of which were bound and all of which were thoroughly indexed and available for loan and reference use. The Oberlin College Library is Professor Root's enduring monument.

Shortly before his death, Professor Root had been elected to the position of secretary, librarian and chairman of the Book-Purchase Committee of the Spiegel Grove Committee of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, and director of research at original sources in Spain, France, England and Canada, relating to the State of Ohio, the Northwest Territory, the United States of America and the Western Hemisphere, in the Hayes Memorial Library, at Fremont, Ohio. He

had been especially active in the selection of books for the Hayes Memorial Library.

He was a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and served on its Spiegel Grove Committee.

Mr. Root was a scholarly gentleman, unassuming, modest, and from early manhood a great student. He was a wise and trusted counselor among the student body and faculty of Oberlin College and a constantly widening circle of those who came to him for advice. His death leaves a vacant place that will be long felt by his library associates, especially those in Ohio.

Professor Root is survived by his wife, Mrs. Anna Mayo (Metcalf) Root, whom he married in 1887; by a daughter, Marian, connected with the New York City Public Library, and by a son, Francis M., professor of Social Hygiene and Public Health, at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

WILLIAM PENDLETON PALMER

William Pendleton Palmer, president of the American Wire and Steel Company, died at his home in Cleveland Heights, December 19, 1927. He was born in Pittsburgh, Pa., June 17, 1861; was the son of James Stewart and Eleanor Pendleton (Mason) Palmer; and was educated in the public schools of his native city. He took an active interest in educational institutions; was trustee of Case Library and Oberlin College; president of the Western Reserve Historical Society; and member of a number of literary and industrial societies.

His estate, at the time of his death, was valued at over \$1,000,000. He left gifts of \$25,000 to both the

Western Reserve Historical Society and the Cleveland Foundation.

Mr. Palmer was a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and was at one time a member of its Board of Trustees.

DEATH OF DR. WILLIAM C. MILLS.

While the current issue of the *QUARTERLY* was passing through the press, Dr. William C. Mills, since 1898 archæologist and director of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, passed to his final rest at midnight, on January 17, 1928. In the death of Dr. Mills the Society has sustained a great loss. The Museum, which is the result of his long years of faithful and devoted service, is his enduring monument.

An extended sketch of his life and services to the Society and the State, will appear in the next issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

ROSS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A four-day exhibition of historical and archæological material was held at the Chillicothe Armory, November 21 to 24, 1927. The occasion was a reorganization or revival of the Ross County Historical Society, for some years inactive. Several members of the Museum staff were in attendance and a small exhibit of archæological specimens from Ross County mounds was installed. On the afternoon of the 22nd, Mr. H. C. Shetrone, curator of archæology, spoke on the "Pre-historic Resources of Ross County." In the evening of the same date, Mr. Arthur C. Johnson, president of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, made

the principal address in which he stressed the rich historic background of the county and predicted a gratifying future for the local Historical Society. Many rare relics of Chillicothe, from the days when the town was the capital of the state, were brought out by the exhibition.

At that time John A. Poland was elected president of a temporary organization, and E. S. Wenis, secretary. A total of 150 members were secured, and this number had been increased to about 200 when the permanent organization was effected in January.

On Thursday, January 12, the Society met to hear an address by Mr. C. B. Galbreath, secretary of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. The speaker congratulated the local Society upon its successful inauguration and flattering prospects. He spoke of previous attempts to organize local historical societies in the Scioto Valley, directing especial attention to the organization of the Logan Historical Society. He read the following paragraph from the initial meeting of this Society, which was organized in 1841.

In an assemblage of pioneers and citizens from different parts of the Scioto Valley, at Westfall, in Pickaway County, July 28, 1841, Judge Corwin, of Portsmouth, a pioneer of the last century, in a short, impressive speech, stated, that from the best information he possessed, we were on or very near the spot where Logan, the Mingo chief, the Indian philanthropist and friend of the white man, delivered his celebrated speech, sent to Lord Dunmore, creditable to mankind and honorable to him and his nation. The venerable pioneer concluded by proposing that, as if listening to the speech, we uncover and resolve ourselves into a Society, determined to perpetuate those principles for which Logan suffered the sneers of his red brethren, by the erection of a monument to his memory, and by the careful collection, safe-keeping, and lasting preservation, for the use of

posterity, of the many scattered but interesting fragments of the history of the early settlements of the western country, as well as what remains of the first and successive settlements of North America. Whereupon, uncovered as we were in the sight of God, all present resolved themselves into a Society, determined to carry out the wishes of every one, as expressed by the proposer, and also to invite all who are warmed with American feelings to aid them in their enterprise. They then elected Felix Renick, Esq., of Ross County, another pioneer of the last century, president, and John S. Williams, of Chillicothe, recording and corresponding secretary.

He drew attention to the fact that eminent men of Ross County were largely represented in this organization, the members of the executive committee of which were as follows:

Hon. George Corwin, Hon. William Oldfield, and Moses Gregory, Esq., were appointed for Scioto County; Hon. Samuel Reed, Hon. John I. Vanmetre, and John Carolus, Esq., for Pike County; William M. Anderson, Owen T. Reeves, Esqs., and Colonel John Madeira, for Ross County; William B. Thrall and Philo N. White, Esqs., and Dr. M. Brown, for Pickaway County; and Hon. Gustavus Swan, Noah H. Swayne and John G. Miller, Esqs., were appointed for Franklin County.

He then proceeded with the address of the evening on "The Relation of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln to Ohio and Its History." The Ross County Historical Society then effected a permanent organization as follows:

John A. Poland, president; Dr. C. W. Mills, first vice president; Mrs. L. C. Anderson, second vice president; Charles M. Haynes, treasurer; Edwin S. Wenis, secretary; Miss Martha T. Bennett, Miss Effie S. Scott, Lyle S. Evans, Dr. Johns Galbraith, Albert C. Spetnagel, Dr. B. F. Sproat and Morris Buchwalter, directors.

A constitution and by-laws were adopted also.

MUSEUM ECHOES

The first issue of *Museum Echoes* has been published and distributed by the Society. It fills a need that has long been apparent. It makes it possible to get promptly the current news of the activities of the Society to its members and all others interested in its work. Ten issues will be published each year, one for each month except July and August. Words of appreciation and encouragement for this venture have already been received from many sources.

WILLIAM CORLESS MILLS

IN MEMORIAM

The founder of an institution of merit with an assured future is peculiarly fortunate. Through the early years of its growth he may struggle onward with meager means to overcome indifference and more serious obstacles, but when success at last crowns a life devoted to a worthy purpose, when the founder lives to see his work recognized and on every side accorded the meed of praise, the satisfaction of such a triumph is more gratifying than a temporal political or financial achievement. Such was the good fortune of Dr. William Corless Mills. The institution that he established on a secure foundation is his enduring monument.

Like many of the conspicuously successful men of the generation that is passing, Dr. Mills began life on a farm. He was born near the village of Pymont, Montgomery County, Ohio, January 2, 1860. He was of English-German ancestry.

His great-grandfather, Joshua Mills, Sr., was born at Mt. Holly, Monmouth County, New Jersey, February 17, 1776. He married Lucy Corless, who was born March 10, 1775. Of this union nine children were born: Ann, March 4, 1798; Jane, August 27, 1800; John, April 7, 1802; Rebecca, July 12, 1804; William, January 26, 1806; Rachel, September 15, 1807; Sarah, May 27, 1809; Grace, September 20, 1812; May, November 3,

1814. Rachel died at Mt. Holly in November, 1817. In 1818, the family, except two daughters, moved to Warren County, Ohio, where they lived one year. They then moved to Perry Township, Montgomery County, Ohio, where the family permanently settled. The two daughters who remained in New Jersey were Ann and Jane. The former married Isaiah Johnson and the latter William Garwood. Immediately after their marriage they came to Ohio. Joshua Mills, Sr., had a fair education and when he was a young man taught school for a time.

John Mills, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, did not at first feel at home in the Ohio wilderness and begged permission to return to New Jersey. This was granted and he walked all of the way back, going as far as Baltimore with a farmer who was taking a drove of cattle. He soon missed his parents, however, and returned to his Ohio home, walking all the way. Here he married Mary A. Singer, April 24, 1827. They moved to Lewisburg, Preble County, Ohio, where four children were born to them: Elizabeth, Joshua, Joseph and John Singer. In 1835, the family moved to the parental home in Montgomery County, and here four more children were born: Lucy, Henry, Rebecca Jane and William Corless. John Mills was a carpenter and a farmer.

Joshua Mills, Jr., son of John and Mary A. (Singer) Mills, was born at Lewisburg, Preble County, Ohio, February 6, 1831. He went with the family to Pymont, Montgomery County, Ohio, four years later. He worked at the blacksmith trade at different periods in southwestern Ohio and at Ogden, Indiana. On January



WILLIAM C. MILLS
At the age of 12 years



WILLIAM C. MILLS
At the age of 17 years

4, 1857, he married Mary Ann Mundhenk and shortly afterward moved to Greencastle Township, Marshall County, Iowa. Here he and his wife remained until late in the year of 1858. Their first child, Elizabeth, was born here March 22, 1858, and died October 15 of the same year. Joshua Mills, Jr., and his wife returned to the old home at Pymont, Ohio, a few days before Christmas, 1858. Here the subject of this sketch was born, as were his two sisters, Clara (Mills) Loy, February 28, 1863, and Mary Ann (Mills) Baker, October 26, 1869.

Joshua Mills, Jr., died July 1, 1921. His wife, Mary Ann (Mundhenk) Mills died October 27, 1923. She was the daughter of Augustus Mundhenk who came with his parents to America from Germany when he was three years old. His father, Daniel Mundhenk, first settled in Philadelphia and later came to Montgomery County, Ohio, and founded Pymont village, giving it the name of his home town in Germany.

Dr. Mills worked on his father's farm, attended the district schools and taught in them for a few years. He studied law a short time in Dayton. In 1881, he entered Ohio State University where he continued until his junior year when he left, studied medicine for a few months and then took a course in the Cincinnati School of Pharmacy from which he was graduated. In 1885, he was married and established a drug store in Pymont. In the spring of the year following, he moved to Columbus and continued in the drug business. In 1887, he moved to Greensburg, Kansas, where he owned and operated a drug store for about eighteen months. In 1888, he returned to Ohio where he owned and con-

ducted drug stores and resided at the following places: Newcomerstown, 1888-1890; Mt. Vernon, 1890-1893; Chicago Junction (now Willard), 1893-1897. In 1897, he returned to Ohio State University, completed his course, received the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1898 and the degree of Master of Science in 1902.

When Dr. Mills was a boy he became interested in Indian arrow-heads found on his father's farm and in its vicinity, and in early life evinced a fondness for archæology. He made a collection of prehistoric relics and early began to study the meager literature available on the Moundbuilders of his native state. While he was living in Newcomerstown, he made a discovery of unusual importance. At that time he was secretary of the local archæological society. In describing this rare find before a meeting of the Western Reserve Historical Society, at Cleveland, Ohio, on December 12, 1890, he said:

New Comerstown is a small village of 1,500 inhabitants, situated on the right bank of the Tuscarawas River, about 90 miles west of Pittsburgh and 100 miles south of Cleveland, and near the confluence of the Tuscarawas and a small stream known as Buckhorn Creek, and from 30 to 35 miles south of the glacial boundary, which extends into the northern part of the county in Wayne Township.

In the northern part of the town and within its corporate limits is a large gravel terrace, deposited in a recess near the mouth of Buckhorn Creek and derived from the northern drift. For several years past the Cleveland and Marietta Railroad Company have been taking out this gravel in large quantities, which they have used in ballasting their railroad, and so have kept the gravel exposed to the depth of about 25 feet. The top of the terrace is about 35 feet above the flood plain of the Tuscarawas and extends up the Buckhorn about a quarter of a mile, gradually diminishing in height as it recedes from the main line of deposition.

In this gravel bank, on the 27th day of October, 1889, while examining the different strata of gravel, I found the specimen

that you have before you, 15 feet from the surface of the terrace. The bank was almost perpendicular at this time, exposing a front of about 20 feet. The small part of the bank was in place in the side of the terrace, until I struck it with my walking cane, when a space of about 6 feet in length by 2 feet in height tumbled down, exposing to view the specimen.

At first sight I recognized the peculiar shape and glossy appearance of the specimen, such as were characteristic of palaeolithic specimens described to me by Prof. Edward Orton, while I was a student at the Ohio State University.

I at once compared the specimen with other flint implements which I had collected in this valley, which at present number upwards of 3,000 chipped specimens of flint found on the surface and in mounds, and I found that I had none that resembled it. I communicated these facts to Mr. A. A. Graham, Secretary of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society. Mr. Graham sent the specimen to Prof. Wright, who wrote me for a detailed account of the circumstances connected with the find, which I furnished him, at the same time inviting him to visit New Comerstown and satisfy himself in reference to my statements. I will leave him to tell the rest of the story.

It will be noted that this discovery had been made almost ten years before he finished his course at the State University. His interest in what became his major life-work continued and when on June 1, 1898, he was elected Curator of the Museum of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, he entered upon a work in which he was not only deeply interested but with which he was already thoroughly familiar.

His compensation at the outset was assuredly very modest. A letter¹ bearing the date of 1898 contains the

¹ Following is the letter from E. O. Randall, Secretary of the Society, under date of June 8, 1898, notifying Dr. Mills of his election:

Dr. W. C. Mills,
O. S. U.,
City.

My Dear Sir:—

I am directed to inform you that on Wednesday, June 1, the Executive Committee of our Society elected you Curator, from June 1, 1898 to Febru-

statement that he was to receive \$15.00 a month from the Society. He also was to receive \$25.00 a month



WILLIAM C. MILLS

From a photograph taken in 1898. A likeness at the time he was elected
Curator of the Museum

ary 1, 1899, at a salary of \$15 per month, with the understanding that in addition to looking after the Museum and collections, you would, when directed, do exploring work for the Society, and when out upon such field work, that you would receive the sum of \$2 per day and your expenses. Mr. George F. Bareis is Chairman of the Library and Museum Committee, and you will be expected to confer with him in regard to the duties of your office. He will write you or call upon you in a short time. With best wishes for your success, I am

Yours respectfully,

E. O. RANDALL.

from the Ohio State University and \$2 a day while engaged in field work. The payment from the University was compensation for teaching a class of students which he had organized in archæology.

At the outset, the collection in the Museum was small. It was housed on the gallery floor of Orton Hall on the University grounds, where it remained until the winter of 1902-1903 when it was moved to the rooms in Page Hall on the University grounds. A full account of this transfer occurs in the report of Dr. Mills which was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society, June 5, 1903.

On Decoration Day, May 30, 1914, the new Museum and Library Building of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, at the east entrance of the Ohio State University, was dedicated with proper ceremonies. On the afternoon of that day the Annual Meeting of the Society was held. Dr. Mills, who was then Curator and Librarian, described in his report the transfer of the museum and library to the new building. He had been much interested in securing appropriations for this building and had devoted much time to the supervision of the details while it was in process of erection.

In the meantime, the exhibits of the Society were steadily and rapidly growing in number and importance. Dr. Mills was very active in conducting the field work of the Society and a number of the mounds explored under his direction yielded rare and valuable relics. It soon became evident that the building would not provide room for the accessions to the Museum and the Library. When the original building was erected, plans were drawn providing for additions, which, when

completed, would give the Society's collections a quadrangular building with an interior court. The first additional wing, which was erected as a memorial to the soldiers of the World War, was completed and dedi-



WILLIAM C. MILLS

From a photograph taken in 1921 at the time he was elected Director of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society

cated April 6, 1926. The General Assembly of Ohio, which met in 1927, made provision for the erection of an additional wing. This leaves only one more wing to be built to complete the building according to the original plan.

Dr. Mills was deeply interested in these additions to the building and diligent in the supervision of the details of their construction.

He served as Curator until October 18, 1921, when the position of Director of the Museum was created by the Board of Trustees of the Society. Dr. Mills was promoted to this position, which he held to the time of his death. To him is due the credit for establishing the Department of Natural History.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society, September 19, 1923, Dr. Mills was honored by the adoption of a resolution expressive of appreciation of his long and successful service to the Society. The resolution was offered by General Edward Orton, Jr., and read as follows:

WHEREAS, The Director of this Society has completed a period of twenty-five years' continued labor in the employ of this Society, and through this period has rendered to the people of the great commonwealth of Ohio a signal service in his several capacities as Curator of Archaeology and Director of the Museum, and

WHEREAS, during the period of his incumbency the archaeological collection of this Society has risen from a little known and unimportant stage until it has now become the most representative collection of material illustrating the life, habits and history of the unknown peoples who have inhabited the Mississippi Valley in centuries past, and his fame, which extends beyond the limits of Ohio and the United States, has made this collection known in the museums of the world, and

WHEREAS, Dr. Mills, by his constant and intensified scholarship and his constantly broadening use of other parallel sciences in explaining relics of these ancient civilizations, has raised this museum from a mere collection of curiosities up to a point where it has become of deep scientific significance and outstanding human interest, therefore

Be it resolved, That the Trustees and the members of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society hereby tender their greetings to Director Mills on this Twenty-fifth Anniversary

of the beginning of his service and render official acknowledgments for his fidelity and the value of his services in the past, and bid him Godspeed in his progress on that never ending quest for knowledge which endows the human breast, of which his own past furnishes so fine an exemplification.

Be it further resolved, That these resolutions shall be suitably engrossed, signed by the officers and Trustees of the Society and presented in permanent form to Director Mills.

Though Dr. Mills had been in failing health for some months before his death he went courageously about his work and was in his office often when it required effort and caused pain to discharge the duties that he could not consent to lay aside. With waning strength his spirit seemed to rise and to the last he did not yield hope that he would win in the fight over a serious malady. He rallied after an operation in the hospital and remained quite cheerful. He did not have the strength, however, to carry him over the crisis, and breathed his last at midnight, January 17, 1928.

The Trustees of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society met on the day following his death to take action expressive of their sense of loss and in tribute to his memory. After the meeting was called to order, General Edward Orton, Jr., offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, We have heard with deep regret and sorrow of the death of Dr. William Corless Mills, which occurred at midnight, January 17, 1928; therefore

Be it resolved by the Board of Trustees of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, That in the death of Dr. William Corless Mills, for nearly seven years the Director of this Society, we have suffered an irreparable loss. To the service of this Society and the science of archæology, Dr. Mills has given literally a life-time of the most zealous and unflagging labor. Beginning in May, 1898, as assistant curator of Archæology,

with a small and fragmentary collection of artifacts, Dr. Mills has, often with but poor support from the Society, struggled along exploring and classifying the more important archaeological remains of Ohio, until he now leaves behind him as the result of his labor, a great and impressive museum whose collections in the special field of the aborigines of the Ohio Valley are beyond question the richest in the world. He leaves not only his collections as his monument, but also, and what is perhaps still greater, the system of exploration which he has developed and which has enabled him in frequent instances to glean from the worked-over explorations of others, knowledge and material of even greater value than the original searchers themselves obtained. By his work, our Society has grown in reputation and appreciation in the scientific circles of this country, and of the world.

Resolved, That his singleness of purpose, his indomitable will, his incessant industry and his scientific insight have made him famous. His kindness, his spirit of helpfulness and his regard for others have endeared him to this Board of Trustees, to all the members of the Society, for whom we speak, and the Staff of the Museum, of whom he was not only the leader, but the friend and co-worker.

Resolved, That our grief at his loss is mitigated in that he no longer is facing the prolonged suffering of an incurable malady, and in that the enduring memory which he leaves with us now, is that of a great life worthily lived.

Be it further resolved, That to his sorrowing family, we offer our sincerest sympathy in their affliction.

Dr. Mills was a member of the American Ornithological Union, member and librarian of the Ohio Academy of Science, member and president of the Wheaton Ornithological Society, member and treasurer of the Columbus Horticultural Society, charter member of the American Association of Museums, member of the Columbus Iris Society and fellow of the following organizations: American Ethnological Society, American Association for the Advancement of Science, and American Anthropological Society. At the time of his death he was a member of the National Research Council of

Archæology, and for twenty-eight years had been assistant editor of the *Ohio Naturalist*, and for twelve years a lecturer in Sociology in the College of Commerce and Administration of the Ohio State University. He was a member of Sigma Xi as well as Phi Beta Kappa. He was a Mason and a Republican.

His scientific papers and contributions rank high in the field of his special interests. He was author of *Certain Mounds and Village Sites*, Vol. 1—4; *Archæological Atlas of Ohio*; *Map and Guide to Fort Ancient*. His annual "Reports" to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society constitute a valuable record of the progress of that institution and his contribution to its work and growth.

He was in charge of the Society's exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, in 1901; honorary superintendent of Archæology at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, in 1904; and superintendent of Archæology at the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition, in 1907. In the summary of Ohio's participation at St. Louis, published in the United States Senate report of 1906 on the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, appears the following statement in regard to Ohio's archæological exhibit:

In the Department of Anthropology * * * Ohio took the grand prize over all competitors. The display consisted principally of relics taken from the historical mounds of the state, which in themselves were very interesting. Not only was the general prize awarded for the display, but a special gold medal was presented to Professor W. C. Mills, Librarian and Curator of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, for his untiring efforts in revealing to the public of today the mode of livelihood and the characteristics of the oldest and most historical race of this continent.

For a period of six years, Dr. Mills was president of the Ohio State University Athletic Association and later was its treasurer. At the close of his service as treasurer he was urged to continue as graduate manager. This he consented to do for one year on condition that he be given complete management of all athletics—football, basket-ball, baseball and track work. This request was granted and at the end of the year a deficit of about \$3,000 was changed to the surplus of \$8,500.

On October 7, 1885, Dr. Mills was married to Olive Buxton, of Walhonding, Coshocton County, Ohio. He is survived by Mrs. Mills and one daughter, Helen Marie Mills.

Numerous editorials of appreciation and resolutions by organizations to which he belonged have appeared in public print. We here reproduce an editorial which appeared in the Columbus *Evening Dispatch* of January 19, 1928:

William C. Mills has a fitting monument in the archaeological and historical collections gathered under his leadership during the last 30 years, and housed in the museum and library building on the grounds of Ohio State University, at the Fifteenth avenue entrance. He was in charge of the exhibit of our Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society at the Buffalo Exposition, in 1901, and was superintendent of the department of archaeology at the Jamestown Exposition, in 1907.

Mr. Mills has been a voluminous contributor to the literature of archaeology, both in the regular publications of the Ohio Society and in separate volumes. He was a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Anthropological Association, the American Ethnological Association, the American Ornithologists' Union and various other learned organizations. Nothing in nature or in the life of man was without its interest for him.

The Archæological and Historical Society has lost an indefatigable worker in his death and the directors will find it no easy task to fill the gap which death has made. The steady growth of the archæological collections at the museum building is by no means a complete record of his fruitful activities, but it is a record to which his host of friends may well point with justifiable pride. Few could have made such a record, with the comparatively meager financial resources which Mr. Mills had at his disposal.

The Council of Research, to which he belonged, forwarded to him the following letter on receiving notice that his illness would not permit him to be present at their meeting:

CHICAGO, March 25, 1927.

DEAR DR. MILLS:—

The members of the conference on State Archæological surveys called by the Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the National Research Council, wish to tender to you our hearty greetings; and to convey to you our sincere regret that you, the outstanding pioneer in the work to which we have all dedicated ourselves, are unable to be with us today.

A. O. KIDDER, *Chairman*,
PETER A. BRANNON,
FAY COOPERDALE,
CHARLOTTE D. GOWER,
CHARLES R. KEYES,
FRANCES DORRANCE,
H. C. SHETRONE,

WILTON M. KROGMAN,
WILLIAM R. TEEL,
AMOS W. BUTLER,
CHARLES E. BROWN,
CARL E. GUTHE,
W. B. HINSDALE.

OHIO IN NATIONAL POLITICS, 1865-1896

By CLIFFORD H. MOORE, PH. D.,

Professor of History in Ripon College,
Ripon, Wisconsin.

CHAPTER I

SOME DETERMINING FACTORS

The sectional conflict, which ended in 1865, contributed a number of conflicting elements to the new era of national life. Prominent was the suspicion engendered by four years of struggle; and it persisted throughout the period of the next generation as a barrier to a true sense of national unity. Men easily visualized the war's destruction of life and property. Its cruelty had left an indelible imprint upon their memories, and the dangers of the "post war mind," which selfish interests stood ready to capitalize to their own ends, tended to sweep aside better standards of judgment in matters of justice. Through an inability to dissemble the passions of struggle, national problems became more perplexing, and they would have been intricate under even more favorable circumstances.

While the passions of war clouded the future and reduced unity to terms of military supremacy or at best to a legal theory, another great sectional rivalry had been temporarily eclipsed. The issue of "one nation or

two" had united the north-east and north-west in common purpose. A temporary alliance had been formed: it was the first of importance between these sections since states west of the Alleghanies had begun entering the Union. Its genius was the spirit of Republicanism; and every state in the north-west, from Ohio to the Pacific coast, expressed its allegiance in terms of that party's ideals. In only five states, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Oregon and California, was the Democratic party a factor to be immediately reckoned with. These states consequently assumed primary importance in party maneuvers concerned with the issues of reconstruction and the new era of national life: at critical times they shared the balance of power and formed vulnerable points in the Republican ideal of unity.

Circumstances other than that just mentioned mark Ohio's claim to significance during the era of national reconstruction. Special importance is to be attached to geographical location, the character and extent of population and economic interests. A survey of the period indicates that the state was in one way or another concerned with practically all those developments which featured national life as a whole: whether viewed from the standpoint of interests which were purely local or in the light of a broader relationship, the history of the state appears as a cross-section of the new national development.

In 1870, the largest population of any state west of the Alleghanies was located in Ohio. The total reached somewhat more than two and one-half millions and was surpassed by only two eastern states, New York and Pennsylvania; at a rough estimate one-tenth of the

national voting strength was accounted for in this constituency. The process of adjusting varied social and political interests incident to the differing antecedents of a population drawn from older sections of the Union, as well as a due proportion of the European influx, favored an aggressive attitude toward national as well as state affairs. As the first product of the Northwest Territory a habit of leadership had been assumed. History and tradition united in attributing a peculiar genius or merit to Ohio's native stock—a sort of local patriotism to be capitalized in advancing her sons to places of national honor. And the first generation of native born did represent a typical product of the antecedents and influences which characterized national life as a whole. The National Road was Mason and Dixon's line in miniature; "People from the Southward" contended with those of New England antecedents for control of state and national affairs; frontier experiences had left their imprint and the state had long since become eloquent in advancing the western cause in the form of national issues.

Geographically, Ohio was the junction point of the types of civilization developed in the older and in process in the newer sections of the nation. The Ohio River, which skirts the entire southern border of the state, connects with the Mississippi Valley and Gulf of Mexico. Lake Erie on the north forms the connecting link with the Atlantic seaboard and the north-west. These waterways in the days of primitive methods of travel made possible the early settlement of the state by a heterogeneous population and provided a national highway for the exchange of products. The generous

contributions of Ohio to the population of north-western states, the degree to which the state provided the industrial centers of the seaboard with agricultural products and the importance of early Ohio river commerce, attest the significance of this fact.¹ The census of 1860 indicated that the state was the center of national population. Industrial interests centered to the east and agricultural just to the west of the state's boundaries. Thus, historically and geographically, the state boxed the national compass and was a social and economic pivot of national interests.

Preceding the war, Ohio was primarily identified with agricultural interests. Until 1880, less than twenty-five per cent dwelt in cities of 4,000 or greater population. In 1870, only one city registered more than 100,000. Prosperity centered extensively in the great excess of farm products supplied to the manufacturing interests to the east and the plantations to the south. By 1860, however, the agricultural frontier of the state had passed. Progress in this line related primarily to the introduction of greater diversity of crops and more intensive methods of cultivation. The advent of the industrial frontier with its factory and city life conditioned a social and economic readjustment by all odds the most significant in the history of the state. Urban districts, although in a minority in point of population throughout the remainder of the century, became the

¹ A suggestive discussion of the social and commercial relationship of Ohio to the Southern states is found in David Carl Shilling's *Relation of Southern Ohio to the South during the Decade preceding the Civil War*, in the Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Vol. XIII, 1913, No. 1. Cf. also *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1867, (Vol. XX), pp. 229 ff.; and Vol. LXXXIV, pp. 679 ff.

dominant and decisive factor in determining the attitude of the state toward national issues. With a disproportionate command of the state's wealth, the power of the press, and the intellectual and political talent of the state, these cities finally left to the rural elements scarcely more than a choice between essentially industrial programs.

In 1870, Cleveland and Toledo vied with each other as distributing and collecting agencies for the districts reached by the Great Lakes. The Civil War had checked the importance of Mississippi River navigation and stimulated the railway and lake traffic east and west. The great opportunity of these cities came with the increased demand of the northwest for Ohio and Pennsylvania coal and the bulky articles of manufacture, and the opening of the iron and copper mines of the upper lake region. Constantly increasing commerce and ship building brought subordinate industries in their trail. When railway traffic became sufficiently developed Cleveland was brought into direct contact with the coal fields and iron producing centers of the nation and was assured a well balanced and diversified industry. The city's interests became ultimately identified with the financial and industrial interests of the east. Toledo, less fortunate in location in so far as these resources were concerned, was soon outdistanced by Cleveland, but became conspicuous in the state's politics as a center of "isms" and third party movements.

The expansion of Cleveland enabled that city to

²Toledo was in 1878 a center of the greenback movement. It early inclined toward socialistic programs. Sam Jones, better known as "Golden Rule" Jones, later became mayor of the city and an inspirer of many liberals.

share the pre-eminent political leadership held by Cincinnati since the days of early statehood. Primarily connected with the agricultural interests of the northwest and the border states, the latter city had the advantage of being a sort of political center of gravity—an "Old Hunkers' Paradise" in the words of an eminent historian.³ As the center of population and industry shifted westward, Chicago, Kansas City and St. Louis drew an increasing share of the type of traffic that conditioned Cincinnati's earlier development. The old sectional ties and a multiplicity of voting interests, however, enabled the city to continue as a strategical point in political conflicts.

While political contests centered primarily in the two major cities in opposite corners of the state, lesser centers occasionally figured prominently. This fact was, however, in its final analysis, merely one of various devices by which party discipline was preserved. The choice of candidates and the dictation of platforms were frequently delegated to the lesser cities and towns as political expediency dictated. In this way solidarity was promoted and rank and file became conversant with theories that were ultimately accepted as their own.

The chief medium by which the dominance of industrial influence was maintained in unifying party action and rendering it consonant with the national program was the newspaper. Party machinery as developed in the mid-century era functioned extensively through this particular channel; the influence of a celebrated group

³ Cf. Shilling, *loc. cit.*, pp. 12-18; *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1867, Vol. XX, pp. 229 ff.

of editors was a powerful factor in articulating popular opinion and translating it into political results. A list of Ohio editors included men of national reputation and influence. Foremost, perhaps, may be placed the name of Murat Halstead of the *Cincinnati Commercial*. He was not so steadfast in his Republicanism but that he gained influence in more or less independent projects even beyond the boundaries of the state. In circulation and consequent numbers reached, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* distanced all rivals. Its name was a household term in great areas of the mid-west. The weekly edition probably approached 100,000. In 1873, its editor boasted that the circulation was greater in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois and West Virginia, than that of any paper published within those states.⁴ Under the editorship of Washington McLean until the early seventies and later under his son, John R., the paper frequently assumed a dictatorship of the Democratic party. Its ambition was to articulate a great sectional interest, and, in pursuance of it, its editor did not hesitate to declare *Cincinnati* the logical site for the national capitol. No paper surpassed it in capitalizing popular impulses in furtherance of political designs.

Another *Cincinnati* paper of extensive influence (aside from the German press) was the *Gazette*, under the bitterly partisan editorship of Richard ("Dick") Smith. With the *Commercial* and the *Dayton Journal* under W. D. Bickham, the *Gazette* shared the press leadership of the Republican party in south-western Ohio.

Two newspapers in Cleveland, as in *Cincinnati*, as-

⁴*Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 1, 1873.

serted political influence in comparatively equal degree. The *Plain Dealer* and *Leader*, Democratic and Republican organs respectively, contested their relative importance and respectability as well as the issues of the day. Edwin Cowles made the *Leader* the vehicle of his recognition as the "Horace Greeley of the West." The *Plain Dealer*, at one time boasting Charles F. Browne (Artemus Ward) as a member of its staff, was, after 1865, under the control of William D. Armstrong, the undisputed organ of its party in Northern Ohio.

In Toledo the *Blade* was important primarily because of its retention of one of the best known newspaper wits of the day — "Petroleum V. Nasby."⁵ His letters from "Confedrit X Roads," purporting to be those of an illiterate observer on the issues of the day, were considered sufficiently effective thrusts at Democratic stupidity to be copied extensively by the Republican press.⁶ The *Blade's* nearest competitor was the *Commercial*, organized by Clark and Ralph Waggoner, formerly editors of the *Blade*, in 1866, as a Johnson organ.

⁵ David R. Locke.

⁶ The following is a typical extract from the writings of a satirist whom one must know in order to sense a significant current in national life. It appeared during the height of the financial agitation: "G. W." orders a barrel of whiskey and pays in the "follerin dokeyment: Confedrit X Roads, Sept. 1, 1875. I promise to pay G. W. Bascom sixteen hundred and eighty dollars, Jehial Perkins. 'Wats this?' askt the astonished Bascom with an expreshun uv intense disgust usurpin the place of the smile. 'Pay for that likker,' replied Perkins calm es a Joon mornin'. 'But this aint pay — its your promise to pay, and you aint got time nor place fixed for payment — you aint got no interest exprest, nor nothin. Wen do you perpose to pay it? 'Never, G. W., never. Under the noo dispensashen, promises to pay is money. All you want is faith. So long as you beleeve that that paper is money, what do you want of money? With faith enuff that paper is money'" Cleveland *Leader*, September 18, 1875.

The location of the official party organs was naturally Columbus. The *Ohio State Journal* edited by General Comly met the needs of the Republicans, while at different times the *Statesman*, the *Democrat* and the *Times* gave aspiring Democrats good services.

Several news sheets other than those mentioned deserve recognition as educative agencies. The *Crisis* of Columbus, commonly regarded as the "Copperhead" organ during and immediately after the war, the *Columbus Dispatch*, "a skim milk independent," the *Springfield Republican*, the *Cleveland Herald* and the *Dayton Democrat*, appear among the better known prints.

With slight exceptions, no change in the physical make-up of Ohio newspapers was apparent between 1860 and 1880. They usually consisted of four pages of news, essays on freaks and freakish events, editorials and catechisms on political issues. In October, 1880, the *Cleveland Leader* first advanced the campaign issues by a page of crude cartoons. From that period, owing to the development of advertising, dated also the tendency to multiply pages and to feature a wider range of information.

As magazines advanced in significance and newspaper editing became a complex function, the importance of a dominating personality vanished. Through the period of transition, however, a great readjustment in American life was taking place. With it came the necessity for the realignment of parties in keeping with the new era. From the issues of the war to those of a new age, an intensive educational campaign was neces-

sary. In this capacity newspapers and their editors wielded an extensive influence.

Important as newspapers were as political agencies, they may be regarded as first only in a series of factors incident to elaborate political machinery made possible by industrial agencies. Closely connected with the daily press and tending to overshadow it during the later years of the century, was the development of party machinery designed to reinforce regularity wherever weakness manifested itself or critical interests demanded. Owing to close contests between the two dominant parties, the modern political machine became a conspicuous factor in the state's politics at a comparatively early period. In fact, various modern practices and devices may be said to have developed extensively within Ohio as the result of a series of critical contests.

One must not gather, however, that parties were without their ideals. In fact, a great measure of solidarity rested upon the assumption that certain broad principles and ideals continuously permeated the party structure. Certain antecedent practices and creeds formed party ties as binding as those of national patriotism. At all times political leaders used the appeal of loyalty as the surest device for promoting solidarity. The persistence with which men commonly followed the party of their choice is reflected in the similarity of election returns from one canvass to another. A brief survey of the situation as it stood in 1865 will illustrate the extent to which party alignment had been crystallized and the degree to which sectional influences persisted.

The Connecticut Reserve, consisting of the counties in the north-eastern part of the state and settled almost

entirely by New Englanders, was Unionist and Republican by an overwhelming majority. The Ohio Company's purchase, consisting approximately of Washington, Athens, Meigs and Gallia Counties, was also settled primarily by New Englanders and next to the Reserve was noted as a Unionist and Republican stronghold. In the south-western part of the state, from Delaware County on the north to Montgomery and Warren Counties on the south, extended another tier of consistently Republican counties—a monument to the Whig dictatorship of Thomas Corwin. With few exceptions, the rest of the state, owing to an admixture of Scotch-Irish, Germans and those of Southern antecedents, was debatable territory. The counties of Monroe, Fairfield, Holmes, Auglaize and Mercer were inclined to be as staunchly Democratic as the Reserve was Republican.⁷

The issues of the war had fixed this alignment quite definitely. It persisted with comparative regularity several years after the original issues had lost their significance. In no other northern state had party strife been more bitter during the Civil War period. The contest for governor in 1863 had made party ties practically the acid test between loyalty and treason. The Democratic party had become, in the judgment of many, synonymous with "rebel" and "Copperhead." Others viewed the Republican party as a revival of French Jacobinism seeking to eradicate the last vestiges of respectable society as established by the Constitution. This comparative

⁷For the sources of Ohio's population see Chaddock, *Ohio before 1850*; Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. XXXI; also Porter, *Ohio Politics During the Civil War Period*, in the same series of Studies, Vol. XL.

rigidity of party lines was a basic factor in determining processes by which political ends were achieved.

The same factors conditioning the alignment of voters produced political leaders of a similar type. Fully conscious of the prestige implied by commanding this aggressive constituency, men of varying types maneuvered for success in politics. Within their ranks were those who had in youth experienced the hardships of the crude agricultural life of the frontier. Shirt-sleeves and "galluses" had been the common badge of self-reliance and democracy. A vision of success in business or law led them to broader fields of enterprise. An age characterized by its legalistic faith looked primarily to the law to develop men well qualified to draw up rules for the safe-keeping of society. Political eminence was therefore the best tested criterion of a successful career and offered its appeal accordingly.

The importance of the various factors enumerated varied from one period to another. In general, however, each of those indicated suggests the basis of Ohio's conspicuous position in national life and politics for a number of years following the war. The period was one in which politics and business were of primary concern. The State, through a close identity with the chief current of national life, gained political distinction as an offensive outpost of an expanding industrialism and a defensive stronghold of a capitulating agrarianism.

CHAPTER II

POLITICS AND THE WAR ISSUES

The three years following immediately upon the close of the war were characterized politically by issues directly connected with Reconstruction. Events so shaped themselves that negro suffrage was ultimately faced as a direct issue and practically eliminated from the political realm. Problems connected with the status of seceded states projected beyond this period and appeared under various guises in connection with issues only remotely connected with the war and primarily related to the newer era. Each party, therefore, passed through a critical stage of readaptation to the new situation.

The campaign for governor in 1865 and the congressional campaign of the year following may be characterized as preliminary sparring matches with each party maneuvering for advantage. The issue upon which the Union party had rested was eliminated by the collapse of the Confederate cause. Since the opening of hostilities between North and South in 1861, the preservation of the Union was the single bond that held together former Whigs, Abolitionists, Know-nothings, Free Soilers, and Anti-Slavery Democrats. When that issue was closed, former prejudices threatened to assert themselves with disruption of the party as an imminent consequence; and many politicians were thoroughly aware that the end of the war carried threats of ending likewise their political careers.

The fortunes of the Peace Democracy, on the other hand, were conditioned by factors scarcely less promising. In time of war the peace idea is popular and that

alone gave the Democratic party an advantage. Its factions ranged from avowed nullifiers and secessionists to those who, though professing loyalty to Union principles, held that the war was not a necessary program for perpetuating the Union. Its dilemma was similar to that of the Unionists. From a practical standpoint it faced the problem of keeping its factions as nearly intact as possible while constructing a program which should win over factions, especially those of Democratic antecedents, attached to the opposite camp. Owing to the embarrassment of the Unionists on the immediate issues of reconstruction, Democratic attempts met with partial success. The moral and social tone of the nation was such, however, that a general demoralization of the party long persisted as a heritage of its war record. Its success at best could be only partial or as a result of a temporary protest against certain phases of the Unionist policy.

Developments of the summer of 1865 appeared altogether favorable to the plans of the party which had been more than four years in opposition and without office. The threatening break between President Johnson and the Radicals regarding the program of reconstruction threatened to shatter completely the fragile bond by which the party had maintained its unity. In many communities, especially those regarded as debatable political territory, party differences were slight; a radical attitude toward restoration of the South or in the direction of negro suffrage carried the possibilities of a disastrous defection. In the Reserve an equally disastrous defection awaited any program that suggested other than a radical or vindictive attitude.

The dilemma of the Unionists is illustrated by the difficulties encountered by two of the party's exponents—Senator Wade and General J. D. Cox. The former had risen on the high tide of the anti-slavery issue, and as a leader of the Radical group became apprehensive of the development in Washington which threatened to consign "the great Union or Republican party bound hand and foot to the tender mercies of the rebels * * * and their Copperhead allies of the North." The course which he later pursued in hurling campaign invective upon the Democracy as not only "dead but damned through the sin of treason" contributed to the destruction of whatever availability he had formerly possessed.² His political martyrdom came through an erroneous faith in Ohio's love for the negro.³

General Cox, on the other hand, narrowly escaped sacrificing his political future on the opposite horn of the dilemma. Unlike Wade, he was not temperamentally vindictive in attitude and was consequently strongly inclined to debate the possible tyranny of majorities as

¹ Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

² Referring to a speech delivered by Wade at Marietta, Thomas Ewing, Sr., wrote: "He spoke it in eight or ten of the southern counties. In Gallia, he brought down the Republican majority 1017—in Washington about 700 and it had a like effect in Scioto, Lawrence, Meigs and Athens. If he had stumped the state, the Democratic ticket would have prevailed by 30,000." *Ewing MSS.*, October 16, 1867.

³ The Cincinnati *Commercial*, November 6, 1867, reported the following interview: "I had no idea that there were so many Republicans in Ohio who were willing to see negro suffrage in the South, but wouldn't let the few niggers of Ohio vote. That's what got me. They all seemed to be in favor of it as a measure of reconstruction just as much as I was. I didn't dream they'd be mean enough to vote against it here."

against the rights of minorities.⁴ The Unionists in anticipation of the Election of 1865 had nominated him as their candidate for governor. His availability centered in his war record and Oberlin training—a tacit guarantee to the Reserve that their ideals were respected.⁵ The party platform endorsed the policy of the President as looking to the “restoration of peace and civil order in the so-called seceded states”. An endorsement of the Declaration of Independence (often a device for meeting a political *impasse*) was procured as a compromise on the problem of the negro. The Unionists as a whole for the sake of solidarity evaded the endorsement of more tangible principles.

On July 24th, however, General Cox threw his party into confusion. In response to an inquiry from a committee of colored students at Oberlin, he was compelled to declare his program regarding negro suffrage. He explained at some length his conviction that a community of blacks and whites in the South was an absolute impossibility. He further elaborated a scheme for organizing the freedmen into communities in the South under the territories. The response to this incident was immediate. “Politics run wild in Ohio,” wrote a correspondent to Chase. “Cox, your old friend, seems to have fallen into the arms of the Conservatives and to have ignored the former teachings of Oberlin.”⁶ The Dem-

⁴ Cox, subsequently, in his inaugural, warned against a “hard peace”: “A victorious majority, flushed with its triumph, finds it easy to forget the rights of minorities, and it remains for us to prove whether in our day the old cry of ‘Woe to the conquered’ may be silenced by a truly republican determination to administer the government for the real advantage of all—of the defeated rebels as well as of the loyal victors.”

⁵ Cox’s wife was a daughter of President Finney, of Oberlin.

⁶ Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 218, footnote.

ocratic and Radical press united in declaring the letter an apostasy of Unionist principles. "It is a painful confession," declared the *Crisis*, "drawn from a devotee that the faith which he preferred, the ideas he imbibed, and the principles he has cherished from his youth have proved when put to the final test chimeras, falsehoods, failures, frauds, and humbugs."⁷ The Democrats thus had cause for optimism when their convention met at Columbus on August 24.

In the hope of a radical defection and with the purpose of making effective overtures to the Conservatives, the Democratic Convention declared for the doctrine of States' Rights as announced in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.⁸ The so-called seceded states were declared to be still in the Union and therefore entitled to all the reserved rights of the states. The program for negro suffrage was held as "an insidious attempt to overthrow popular institutions by bringing the right to vote into disgrace." The Convention further resolved to stand by President Johnson in all Constitutional efforts to restore immediately to the states the exercise of their rights and powers under the Constitution. The military record of General George W. Morgan commended him as the candidate for governor.

Despite a defection of 65,000 Unionist votes, General Cox carried the election by a majority of 30,000. The Unionist candidate's program was side-stepped in Radical areas during the campaign as merely the peculiar ideas of an individual—an opportunity which Gen-

⁷ *Crisis*, August 9, 1865.

⁸ Cf. Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

eral Cox had safeguarded in his Oberlin letter.⁹ The Unionists maintained control of the state and an extension of time in which to square public opinion and a program.

For another year Unionist leaders were forced to maneuver in an atmosphere of indefinite popular opinion. Successive attempts were made to endorse the program of the President or Congress. While certain Conservatives turned to the Democrats, others hesitated in doubt as to the direction in which the path of political wisdom lay. In the Congressional campaign and that for state officers in 1866, party unity was in large measure preserved by pleading that no real difference existed between Congressional and Presidential programs. The only real difference, it was maintained, was in the manner of imposing terms.

Meanwhile, the Democrats capitalized the Unionist dilemma by encouraging the coöperation of the Johnson sympathizers. Their convention of 1866 was primarily designed for this purpose. In the National Union Club Convention, held at Philadelphia in August of the same year, the party shared its representation with Johnson sympathizers, although it first assured itself that it had not for its object "the disbanding of the Democratic party and merging it into a new organization." The fiasco of the campaign during the following October, coupled with a fear on the part of regular party leaders that the policy of coöperation implied a certain danger

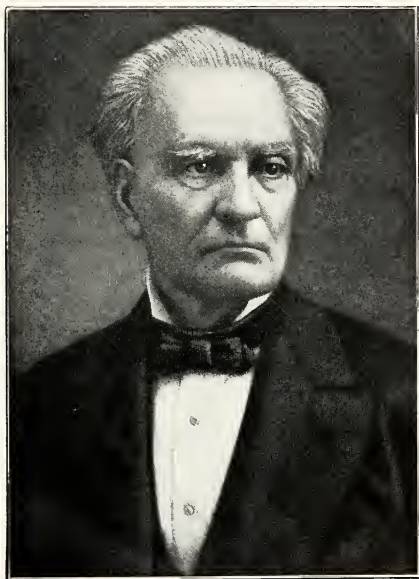
⁹ He had declared: "If other views than mine prevail, I shall hold it my duty to act cheerfully and promptly with the body of loyal men, believing that the best solution which they can give will be the best obtainable and that to divide from them will be to deliver the government into the hands of its enemies." *Crisis*, August 9, 1867.

to their individual interests, brought a change of tactics. The election impending for the following year loomed as especially significant to the interest of both parties and their leaders. Besides the governorship, a legislature which should choose Senator Wade's successor was at stake. The campaign would naturally bear a significant relation to the Presidential campaign impending a year later. With a view to reaping the full benefit of the apparently hopeless situation between the President and Congress, three leaders consistently identified with the Democratic party proceeded to take the situation in hand.

Prominent above all others was Clement L. Vallandigham. His name had become synonymous with "Copperhead" Democracy as a result of his banishment from the state and subsequent candidacy for the governorship in 1863. Gifted with a commanding personality and the power to appeal to the masses, he had intrenched himself as an undoubted hero in the estimate of thousands of his constituents. His convictions led him into an aggressive attitude dictated in great measure by an honest and fearless nature. He was thus an asset and a liability to the Democracy as it attempted to extricate itself from the dilemma of the Civil War period. The Unionists made him the victim of their propaganda; he was himself an issue—"a millstone on the necks of the Democracy"; many of his party associates stood ready to read him from the party councils. Owing to his tenacity he remained a factor to be reckoned with until his untimely death in 1871.¹⁰

¹⁰For highly favorable estimates of Vallandigham see *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 266 ff., and Cox *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, pp. 80-85.

In the person of George H. Pendleton, the party possessed a leader gifted in the subtle devices of political methods. Personally correct and cultured, he was popularly identified as "Gentleman George," later when championing the "Ohio Idea" as "Young Greenbacks."



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WADE

United States Senator, March 4, 1851 — March 3, 1869

With a record of four terms in Congress from a Cincinnati district and as the Vice-Presidential candidate in 1864, he was yet hopeful of procuring the nation's greatest political reward.

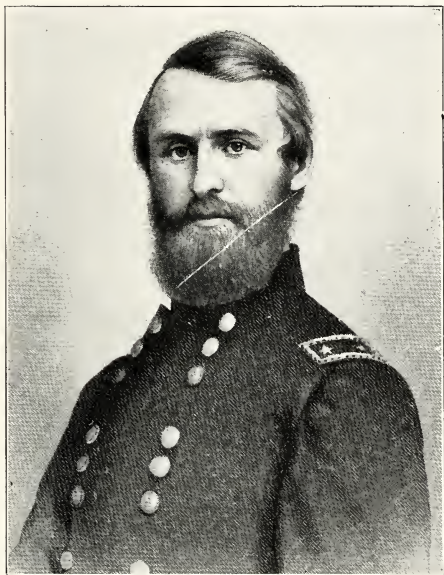
"Allen G. Thurman, "the noble Roman" or "Old

Bandanna," as he was popularly called, the third of the group, was of Virginia birth, a thorough party man with convictions as to the political justice of his party's ideals. He was a constitutional lawyer of recognized ability. His peculiar manner enlisted confidence though it seldom aroused enthusiasm. He was, nevertheless, a striking figure, and later was to voice a powerful protest against measures of questionable constitutionality that were forced rough-shod through the national legislature. "Ernest, outspoken, and free in his criticisms of men and manners, he would wave his red bandanna handkerchief like a guidon, give his nose a trumpet blast, take a fresh pinch of snuff, and dash into a debate, dealing rough blows and scattering the carefully prepared arguments of his adversaries like chaff."¹¹ On the stump he was effective, though, like Senator Sherman, he failed to attract men by personal magnetism. Much of the popular strength of both men centered in that type of venerability which tends to crystallize about those long in public life.

January 8, 1867, St. Jackson's or St. Hickory's Day in the calendar of loyal Democrats, was a logical time to restore the party to its original principles. The Democratic triumvirate made an advanced division of the party spoils. Thurman was to be the candidate for governor; Vallandigham, in case of a Democratic legislature, was to succeed Wade in the Senate; Pendleton should receive the party endorsement for the Presiden-

¹¹ Poor's characterization continues: "When he sat down, he would signal to a Republican friend and they would leave the Senate chamber by different doors and meet in a committee room, where there was a supply of old Bourbon whiskey." Poor, *Reminiscences*, Vol. II.

tial nomination in 1868.¹² The platform was launched against the "unconstitutional, revolutionary, and despotic" reconstruction measures, then before Congress, and the threatening "thralldom of niggerism."



JACOB DOLSON COX

Brigadier General in the Union Army, April 23, 1861-October 6, 1862; Major General, October 6, 1862-January 1, 1866; Governor of Ohio, January 8, 1866-January 13, 1868; Representative in Congress, March 4, 1877-March 3, 1879; Secretary of the Interior of the United States, March 5, 1869-November 1, 1870.

The Unionists by common consent passed over Governor Cox and nominated General Rutherford B.

¹² Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. 239.

Hayes. The Oberlin letter and the fact that General Cox had eulogized President Johnson in 1866, combined to make him unavailable. As a Representative in Congress, General Hayes had followed the Radicals but had evinced no great enthusiasm for the cause. The platform endorsed the proposed amendment of the Constitution enfranchising the negro, and the reconstruction measures of Congress.

The campaign centered primarily in the issue of negro enfranchisement. The Unionists had successfully side-stepped that issue in 1865 and although the "Visible Admixture" law, and the last of the Ohio "Black Code" had been repealed, the Radicals had succeeded in bringing the issue before the voters in a proposed amendment which provided that "white" be stricken from that clause in the Constitution which described the qualifications for suffrage.

The contest was second in intensity and national interest only to that of 1865. The State Legislature had in a blundering manner given an added issue. In framing the negro suffrage amendment the preceding February, Conservatives in the House had sought to gain for it an added popularity by disfranchising as many Peace Democrats as possible. An amendment to the Senate bill disfranchised those who had "borne arms in support of any insurrection or rebellion against the Government of the United States, or have fled from their places of residence to avoid being drafted into the military services thereof, or have deserted the military service of said government in time of war and have not subsequently been honorably discharged from the same." When it was discovered that about one-fourth of the

total deserters credited to Ohio had left the army after Lee's surrender in order to escape services on the Mexican border or on the Indian frontier, attempts were made to secure from the Federal Government honorable discharges for all who had left after April 15, 1865. Not until July, through the services of J. M. Ashley, a representative from the Toledo district, did a bill pass Congress which removed the ban of desertion.

The campaign threw the Unionists on the defensive, although they countered by resurrecting the war records of their opponents. General Hayes pleaded the cause of the negro and attempted to convince his audiences that slavery and rebellion were convertible and union and liberty inseparable terms. Thurman pleaded the constitutional case of the Democracy and declared that for six years the Unionists had unnecessarily prolonged the war by shamelessly and needlessly trampling the Constitution under foot. Intellect and passion were appealed to in opposition to the proposed enfranchisement of the negro—the proposition to confer the vote upon “7,000 or 8,000 negroes while taking it away from two or three times as many white soldiers.” Wagons filled with girls dressed in white and bearing banners inscribed “Fathers, save us from negro equality” featured Democratic processions. Inscriptions of Republican banners read: “Honest Black men are preferable to white traitors”; “Democrats murdered our President”; “If any man pull down the American flag, give him a Post Office—A. Johnson.”¹³

The campaign result was a virtual victory for the Democracy. The total vote indicated an increase of

¹³ Toledo *Blade*, September 23, 1867.

67,000 over the election of 1865 with a bare majority of less than 3,000 for General Hayes. Twelve thousand fewer votes were cast on the Amendment than for the governor, with a direct majority of 38,000 against it.¹⁴ The Democrats procured control of both houses of the Legislature and the assurance of naming the successor to Wade in the United States Senate.

The result of the war issues apparently placed the Democracy on a competitive basis with the Unionists. Their voting strength had been steadily recruited since the disastrous election of 1863 when they had been defeated by a majority of 100,000. The impending Presidential campaign extended a reasonable hope of success to the minority party providing its program was directed with reasonable tact and foresight. A new turn in popular interests extended an apparent opportunity for Democratic leaders to identify their party with a program that would at least partially relieve it from the popular prejudice revealed by the recent campaigns. The issue born of this new popular interest became significant in the Presidential campaign of 1868.

* * * * *

A natural consequence of the issues of the Civil War was a distraction of popular attention from economic and social interests which were not directly connected with that event. The North-west in general passed through a stage of expansion and prosperity while serving as an important agency in procuring the subjection of the South. The demands of the war for food and men eliminated all possibilities of "hard

¹⁴ The term "white" remained in the Ohio Constitution until the adoption of a new instrument in 1912.

times" connected with over-production and unemployment. Ohio had profited greatly from this favorable situation. During the war and for a period of two years following, prosperity was the common topic of newspapers and official reports. The state debt decreased rapidly and reports visioned its entire effacement within a very short period. In 1865, the per capita indebtedness was somewhat less than one-half that of 1844.¹⁵ Thanks in part to cheap money, the mortgage debt was estimated to have been reduced by somewhat less than \$17,000,000, or about one-third the total, between 1859 and 1863; state bank deposits more than doubled between 1860 and 1863.¹⁶ But great as the general satisfaction was with this situation, many pointed to the even greater possibilities of the future. The report of the State Auditor in 1865 was typical of the prevailing optimism: "With a rigid adherence to economy, the proper amendments of the tax laws, and the steady and intelligent enforcement of a just and equal taxation, the public debt will disappear in seven years, and the state levy sink down to one mill on the dollar. Then, with the rate of interest properly adjusted, capital will flow into the State, manufactories will spring up and population and wealth augment in a ratio hitherto scarcely dreamed of."¹⁷

Definite programs by which industrial interests should be advanced took various forms. The general idea was that greater freedom was to be advanced to those interests directly concerned, especially in so far as

¹⁵ *Annual Cyc.*, 1865, pp. 683 ff.

¹⁶ *Annual Cyc.*, 1863, pp. 731-732.

¹⁷ *Annual Cyc.*, 1865, p. 684.

it related to finances. That industrial interests were awakening to the new issues, was indicated in the general demand for the removal of barriers that had been erected primarily for agricultural interests. Business interests of Toledo and Cincinnati petitioned the Legislature either for the removal of the six per cent interest maximum or its increase to from seven to ten per cent "to keep money from New York and the far West."¹⁸ The *Toledo Blade* early in 1867 declared that "traffic in money should be as free as that in corn."¹⁹ In December of the same year the National Convention of Manufacturers met in Cleveland to declare a constructive program for the advancement of their own interest and to identify it with the large realm of national interest. It placed itself upon record as opposed to any scheme for the rapid reduction of the National debt as "fraught with danger." A memorial addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives read in part as follows:

"Labor increased our wealth from \$7,135,780.228 in 1850 to \$16,159,616,068 in 1860. The same ratio, making an allowance of \$4,520,732,313 for the wastes of war, will increase the national wealth to \$32,000,000,000 in 1870. In comparison with this, our national debt which by the Secretary's last report was \$2,511,800,013.33, will be neither an embarrassment nor a terror.

"Wise legislation that will protect well our industrial interests and give permanency and stability to all governmental affairs, will greatly increase the power of

¹⁸Toledo *Blade*, November 20, 1867.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, February 26, 1867.

labor in our midst, which, when relieved of excessive taxation, will soon make us the most prosperous and independent nation on earth."²⁰ Ohio newspapers echoed the advantages of industrial interests over agricultural as a medium of advancing national welfare. The *Blade* called attention to the returns of English industrial capital at 120 per cent as compared with a return of only 13 per cent on capital invested in agriculture.²¹ It was indeed a radical program from the standpoint of Jeffersonian or Jacksonian economy toward which the industrialists were driving and being driven.

Before the election of 1867 had closed, popular attention was being centered more and more in the direction of the national debt and financial measures in relation to the advancement of material interests. Bond issues and the National Bank had been designed primarily as devices by which financial support had been procured for prosecuting the war. These instruments of finance had in turn largely relieved property interests from direct taxation and provided the basis of inflation which had too frequently augmented private credit in spite of a wealth-consuming war. Finances, then, formed the chief issue about which the problems of the new industrial age revolved. A brief survey of the factors concerned will make clear the character of the struggle as it unfolded itself.

The function of money and credit ever tended to become more complicated and important as the industrial age advanced. In the various forms of its relationship to economic life it was open to numerous and puzzling

²⁰Ohio *State Journal*, January 3, 1868.

²¹Toledo *Blade*, January 3, 1867.

intellectual slants. In this and subsequent crises through which the struggle passed, many phases and combinations of phases of the subject were emphasized. A popular conception, for example, held it to be a lubricant for industrial machinery—an accelerator which by expansion could speed up a period of economic depression. On one point only was practical unanimity evident. This was in the general acceptance of the idea that financial expansion or credit must keep pace with the increase of wealth and population. It was in the program by which this fact was to be accomplished that differences existed. Industrial and banking interests characterized their program as the “sound money doctrine” and realized profit and security in the concessions of the National Bank Act—security especially from Congress, which in determining the needs of industry might “mistake its own pulse for that of the nation.” “Sound money doctrine” advocated sound money in so far as it discountenanced the issuance of credit certificates in any form on the part of the government. By the quantity theory of value, banking credits stood in the way of being depreciated by any such action.

The “greenback movement,” actuated as it was by debtor classes who viewed any increase in the denominator of values as a source of relief from their obligations, nevertheless carried within itself an opposing theory of justice. By its opponents the program was caricatured as a “soft money craze”—any scheme of government credit circulation other than that of coin worth its intrinsic value was open to the criticism “soft money.”²² Programs for securing such

²² Government indebtedness in the form of bonds which secured banking circulation was on the other hand consistent with the banking program.

credits varied among proponents of the general scheme. Some held that the mere fiat of the government was sufficient security, especially since the government had sovereign authority through its taxing power over all national wealth.²³ "Print" was held to be etymologically the same as coin—hence the scheme was constitutional. Others advocated securing government credit by making issues of certificates interchangeable with bonds, the value regulated by an interest rate payable in coin—a system "free from the manipulations of both banks and Congress and in the hands of the people where it belongs." Another commonly advanced view held that a coin reserve was necessary to stabilize such government credit. All these schemes, however, possessed a common unity in their declared warfare against the perpetuation of the national debt, and banking associations which "drew interest on their indebtedness and practiced extortion upon the people": "The right to coin and issue money is a function of the government and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy taxes." In its broader aspects the "needs of industry and commerce" were to be the standard of finance rather than metallic value or the criterion of banking interests, and whether "sound" or not the program was a phase of that popular struggle which had as its object the control of economic agencies which were soon to demonstrate a power and magnitude that completely overshadowed that of the government itself.

²³ The number embracing this scheme was comparatively small.

Various interests of the past designated Ohio as an area in which the issue possessed paramount interest. With Kentucky, the state had attacked the Second bank of the United States when it forced their banks to pay their debts. A latent suspicion of Eastern methods of finance was an abiding legacy from the days when Andrew Jackson counted Ohio a dependable supporter in his war upon the "monster."²⁴ Success appeared certain, therefore, when the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and Pendleton advanced a scheme of finance which possessed an apparently double virtue—first, relief from embarrassing taxes occasioned by the war debt and, second, the necessary expansion of credit to meet agricultural needs and industrial development.

The program was to be realized by demanding the payment of bonds in certificates issued upon the credit of the United States in all cases in which gold was not specified. The issuance of non-interest-bearing certificates in payment of bonds made possible, according to the advocates of the scheme, a short cut to the payment of the debt and a consequent lowering of taxation. By making the certificates legal tender in the payment of taxes and debts, it was claimed that a quick return to specie payments was automatically assured and an expansion of credit created to meet the advancement of economic interests. On the theory that "there should be

²⁴ Ohio Democratic leaders persisted in identifying their party with their sectional interests. A "toast" at a Jackson Day banquet in 1867 is illustrative: "The North-west—not hewers of wood or drawers of water for New England monopolists ought the North-west to be. Woe to her representatives who aid the cormorants to devour her substance and impoverish her people by high tariff, unequal taxation and the creation of unnecessary debt." Cincinnati *Enquirer*, January 9, 1867.

no divided sovereignty in providing the people with their currency," the scheme looked to the elimination of the national banking system as well as the payment of the national debt. "Eliminate the National Bank notes and there will be no undue inflation of the currency" was the answer to the indictment of opponents.

After the issue had been drawn and had become a more or less Democratic dogma, the "sound money" advocates ridiculed that party for having turned a complete somersault since 1863 when they had so radically opposed the issue of fiat money. For example, no one had been more radical in opposition to fiat money during the war than Pendleton. He was likewise represented as an apostate from the Jacksonian Democratic tradition of specie as against credit money. Accepting the program of credit circulation, however, as an established fact, Pendleton could claim consistency in advocating a national currency as against the national bank currency. Good legal opinion declared that no contract was violated since bondholders should receive as good currency as they had given in exchange for the bonds.²⁵

The general program for a national currency as outlined gained wide circulation during the latter months of 1867 and became familiar as the "Ohio Idea." The immediate popularity of the scheme in the face of a slackening "war prosperity" was evident. The *Enquirer* congratulated itself repeatedly as the pioneer of the movement. Party lines threatened to dissolve in behalf of the new issue. Newspaper editors of both

²⁵ A manuscript in the Thomas Ewing papers written by Ewing shortly before his death is one of the ablest defenses of the Pendleton program available.

parties attached no political importance to the program and only quibbled as to differences. The *Blade*, for example, in its remonstrance against McCulloch's contraction of the greenbacks, declared that its own program of inflation demanded only a sprinkle whereas the *Enquirer* was demanding a flood.

Congress immediately reflected the effect of the new popular pressure and political expediency demanded immediate action. Sherman was especially active in evolving a program which would square his party with the rising tide. The editor of the Cleveland *Leader* advised him repeatedly of the necessity for immediate action. Under date of February 20, 1868, he wrote: "The reason why I advocate an early resumption is to *prevent the Copperheads from carrying the next Presidential election*. I will say confidentially that in the cry now being raised by the Copperhead Demagogues of 'Gold for the Bondholders and Greenbacks for the laborers' I see the defeat of the Union party next fall which even the military prestige of Grant cannot prevent." "No doubt you should do something with the National Banks," urged another prominent adviser. "They are simply grand swindling shops under the National Flag."²⁶

Sherman launched his program and frankly defended it out of deference to popular demands. February 4, 1868, an act passed the President's veto which forbade any further reduction of the currency and authorized the replacement of "mutilated notes." By this act the minimum limit of legal-tender notes was fixed at \$356,000,000—the volume then afloat after McCul-

²⁶T. J. McLain to Sherman, December 18, 1867. *Sherman MSS.*

loch's policy had done its work. Senator Sherman, in advocating the measure, declared that it was entirely preliminary to other legislation "which must include the banking system, the time and manner of resuming specie payment, the payment of the debt and the kind of money in which it can be paid, and the reduction of expenditures and taxation."²⁷

His program was professed in the interests of public justice and with due deference to the government's obligations to national interests. His conclusions in regard to the subject had been reached against the earnest arguments of personal and political friends, and against his own "personal and pecuniary interests."²⁸ This speech, in view of the fundamental change in attitude which party allegiance was to encompass on the part of Sherman and many of his associates, is particularly significant. Few men of opposing political attachments formulated the social and economic issue in broader terms. The political exigency first received emphasis: "I might show you by the resolutions of political parties, both Republican and Democratic, that we cannot avoid or evade this issue. We must meet it. I have here the resolutions of both political parties in the state of Indiana, both declaring that these bonds ought to be paid in greenbacks and differing only as to the limit of greenbacks. I have also resolutions adopted in different parts of the country. The tendency of the Democratic party is to drift into a political declaration that these bonds shall be paid in greenbacks; and great masses of patriotic men all over the country of the political faith to which

²⁷*Congressional Globe*, January 9, 1868, p. 408.

²⁸*Cong. Globe*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., part V, Appendix, p. 188.

the majority of the Senate belong have come to the same conclusion. We are, therefore, compelled to consider the question. It will be made the basis of every election next fall in nearly all the north-western States. No man can be elected to Congress unless he commits himself for or against this proposition.”²⁹ By all means the government was bound to express its good faith by backing the notes with as good credit as that which stood behind the bonds: “I say that equity and justice are amply satisfied if we redeem these bonds at the end of five years in the same kind of money, of the same intrinsic value it bore at the time they were issued. Gentlemen may reason about this matter over and over again, and they cannot come to any other conclusion; at least, that has been my conclusion after the most careful consideration. Senators are sometimes in the habit, in order to defeat the argument of an antagonist, of saying that this is repudiation. Why, sir, every citizen of the United States has conformed his business to the legal-tender clause. He has collected and paid his debts accordingly. Every state in the Union, without exception, has made its contracts since the legal-tender clause in currency and paid them in currency.”³⁰ * * *

“There is a wide discrimination made between the bondholder and the noteholder, which gives rise to popular clamor and is the cause of a great deal of just complaint. In 1863, we were compelled for wise purposes to take away the right of the holder of the greenback to fund it, because we wished then to force our loans upon the market; and while that right was outstanding we could

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 181 ff.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 184.

not do it. Now that the war is over, that the whole process of funding is intended to be voluntary at the discretion of the noteholder, we ought promptly to restore this right to allow the note to be converted at any time into some kind of bond; and we propose also to allow the bond to be converted into notes keeping within the limit of notes fixed by law. Then there is no discrimination; the bondholder and the noteholder are both public creditors; both depend upon public faith. The noteholder may go to the Treasury of the United States and demand his bond; the bondholder may go also and demand his note. They are put on a basis of equality. This destroys all speculation in government securities. Both will then stand on the same footing, and both will be of equal value. The noteholder may at his option draw interest in gold by converting it into bonds, and the popular cry of demagogues that we have provided gold for the bondholder and notes for the people will be silent.”³¹ * * * The peroration identified the policy with an ideal of social justice that has ever animated men of altruistic mold since property holding became a recognized privilege.

“Senators often tell us that we must not be influenced by public discontent or clamor. I agree with this when the discontent is not founded upon substantial equity, but when it is founded upon equity it will make itself felt through you or over you. And Senators must remember that this is a government of the people, for the people and by the people. It is not like the Government of Great Britain, a despotic oligarchy, where the rights of property override the rights of persons; where

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188.

the laws are made to add to the accumulations of the rich, though hundreds of thousands may thereby be pinched with poverty. That is the land of entails, where the offices of the church are bought and sold as property, and where all that is good in life—office, honor, property—is confined to less than one-tenth of the population—where the laws are studiously formed to exclude the poor from all political rights. We borrow from these people of kindred blood many of the best guards of liberty, but we must take care not to engraft on our republican system the leading feature of their present government, the supremacy of property over labor. * * * To encourage, maintain, and reward labor must be the principal object of our legislation. Capital can take care of itself. It has many advantages in competition with labor. It may be idle—labor cannot be. * * * No privilege should be granted to the bondholder that is not granted to the noteholder. Both are public securities, and both, and equally, can appeal to the public faith. No privilege should be granted to the bondholder unless it is compensated for by some advantage reserved by the Government, and the whole public debt should be made to assume such form that it may be a part of the circulating capital of the country bearing as low a rate of interest as practicable, and with only such exemptions as will maintain it at par with gold.”³²

Here indeed, was an issue, irrespective of the rela-

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189. Under date of March 9, 1868, Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune* wrote to Sherman as follows: “. . . You have demonstrated unanswerably to my mind that while we must not water the c’y, yet the bondholders cannot require any better money than greenbacks for the principal of their debt. . . .” *Sherman MSS.*

tive merits of the conflicting financial ideas, worthy of the best mettle of statesmanship.³³ The national fiscal policy thenceforth became the important pivot of the new era. It carried important social as well as economic implications and threatened the unity of the new nation much as it had that of the British Empire in 1776. Was the West ready to join the bankrupt South in overthrowing the program of industrial finance, as it had joined the East in overthrowing the agricultural system of the South? Apparently Ohio was all but a unit in influence to that end. During the time that the issue was under debate, H. D. Cooke declared Garfield "the only member of the entire Ohio delegation who would vote aye on a square proposition that the bonds should be paid in gold and he says that it will defeat him for reelection."³⁴ At all events the popularity of the "Ohio Idea" possessed an immediate political significance; while threatening the unity of the Republican party, it promised to advance George H. Pendleton to the Presidency.³⁵

Before the Democratic National Convention met in

³³ Sherman shortly afterward attempted to cast this record into oblivion. Cf. *Recollections*, II, p. 624 ff.

³⁴ Oberholzer, *Jay Cooke*, II, pp. 40-41.

³⁵ The *State Journal* became especially apprehensive. In a long editorial of February 27, 1868, it made the following plea: "Whatever may have been done elsewhere, whatever weakness and fear may have given up, whatever short-sighted and timid policy may have yielded in other quarters, here in Ohio, where so many Statesmen and Generals and Soldiers have made us a name and a praise in the whole earth, whose sons have fallen on so many fields for the government and Union, whose own faith has been kept with its creditors in spotless purity, here, in the stronghold of patriotic devotion and scrupulous integrity, let there be no symptoms of weakness or wavering."

New York, however, various political developments militated against the success of the Pendleton program. The New York and Indiana delegations were headed by factions openly and determinedly hostile to the Ohio group. A strong sentiment was yet evident that the campaign should center in the issue of the Fourteenth Amendment. In Ohio the State Legislature, encouraged by the 50,000 majority against amending the state constitution in behalf of negro suffrage, passed a resolution retracting the act of ratification by the previous Legislature. The so-called "Visible Admixture" law, designed to disfranchise at least 2,000 voters, was passed. By it any person challenged at the polls must swear and procure the oath of two witnesses that his freedom from an admixture of African blood was practically absolute. Although this law was soon declared unconstitutional, it served to keep the issue of negro suffrage before the public. Another phase of the legislative program prompted Republican leaders to arouse suspicion as to the sincerity of Democratic proposals. Legislation designed to disfranchise college students and the inmates of the Soldiers' Home enabled the Republicans to act on the offensive when the National Convention met in New York on July fourth.

A source of friction overshadowing all others had resulted in the redivision of party spoils made necessary by the partial success in the election of 1867. A legislature had been secured upon terms which represented a revolutionary reaction to the vindictive attitude threatened by such men as Wade. A popular reaction to the crusading spirit had been uncovered, and astute party managers were not slow to see that it stood in the way

of crystallizing about the person of their most radical party leader—the man who had been most uncompromising at the moment when it was apparently political suicide to do so; Pendleton's personality and financial program did not stand in distinct relief to Vallandigham's enthusiastic and idolizing audiences.³⁸ More pliant politicians whose control rested upon influences which must frequently defeat popular tendencies, could not therefore look with equanimity upon so complete a vindication as that connected with Vallandigham's election. Without regard to the agreement of the year before, Pendleton and the *Enquirer* turned to squaring the Legislature to the election of Thurman—a choice that squared better with promoting Pendleton's presidential chances. Vallandigham was bitterly disappointed by his defeat. His vindication had been near at hand. It

³⁸ A leading correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial* at various times insisted that in case the election were left in the hands of the masses, Vallandigham would undoubtedly be elected. Under date of October 25, 1867, he wrote: "I shall not attempt to account for Mr. Vallandigham's popularity among the Democratic masses; least of all shall I attribute it to the same cause to which I attribute his unpopularity among the Democratic politicians. I have attended two 'jollification' meetings recently, and have seen at each such demonstrations in the direction of hero-worship as are seldom exhibited in this country. . . ."

The speech occupied a little over an hour in its delivery, and I thought that at its conclusion the assembled Democrats would quietly disperse to their respective homes. But not so. The ovation, instead of having ended, had just commenced, and for about an hour there was such a scene of wild confusion, produced by attempts to congratulate the speaker, as is seldom witnessed by any one, and I hope will never again be witnessed by me except from a respectful distance. They crowded around his carriage, they choked every avenue of travel around him, and conducted themselves in a general way like so many lunatics." Cited in Vallandigham, *Life of Vallandigham*, p. 421. Accounts in the same tenor are given in the *Commercial*, November 24 and 25, 1867.

was beyond the nature of things to expect him to become aggressive in behalf of the man who had failed to stand by him. He was shortly to reveal his hand in another enterprise.

The day before the Convention, Pendleton with his "body-guard" of three hundred men clad in linen dusters and caps, paraded the streets bearing a banner inscribed, "The people demand payment of the bonds in greenbacks and equal taxation. One currency for all. Pendleton the people's nominee." Despite the selection of New York over St. Louis as the place for holding the Convention, commonly regarded as a blow at Pendleton's chances, the delegation was determined upon a conspicuous part in the Convention proceedings. A few days previously, five members of the delegation were induced to withdraw in favor of Vallandigham, Pugh, Jewett, Thurman, and Morgan—the five most influential Democrats of the state, with the exception of the candidate for the Presidential nomination. The contest as developed in the Convention resolved itself into a duel between New York and Ohio. The platform as adopted on the third day embraced the Pendleton program and went on record against the Reconstruction Acts as "usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void." The "Ohio Idea" was safely launched, but as the result of maneuvers designed to break the deadlock between candidates, the Ohio delegation became the victim of one of the most peculiar ironies in political history. As a result of Vallandigham's coöperation in an attempt to secure the nomination of Chase, an Ohio delegate led a stampede of the Convention to the New

York nominee, Horatio Seymour, a recognized opponent of the Pendleton program.³⁷

During the impeachment trial of President Johnson, it became evident that the Republicans must nominate General Grant. The program was backed by the Ohio press from the beginning—as soon as it became known that Grant would not be the Democratic candidate. His election was represented as a patriotic duty, and the campaign resolved itself into an incrimination of Seymour, the “Mephistopheles of the riots,” and the “guiltiest of the murderers of that bloody mob.”³⁸ The Pendleton program was represented as merely a step in the direction of a general program of repudiation—if not actually in itself repudiation. The Democratic campaign in the state, owing to the fiasco in New York, never assumed significance. The *Enquirer* expressed its determination to stand back of its candidate in 1872.

The success of the Republican party in electing General Grant by an overwhelming electoral vote and by a popular majority of 300,000 left the Democratic party in practically the same position it had occupied in 1865, with the exception that it had involved itself with an additional discredited program. The Republican party, which had emerged from its previous Unionist factions, stood practically unchallenged as the embodiment of national patriotism. While there was no real unity among Republicans on the financial issue, the success of 1868 contributed toward incorporating the ideal of bank

³⁷ The plan was that Seymour should refuse the nomination and transfer his support to Chase. Cf. *Ann. Rep't. of the Am. Hist. Assoc.*, 1902, Vol. II, pp. 520-521.

³⁸ In reference to the draft riots in New York in 1863.

credit and "sound money" as a party tradition. Grant's majority in Ohio reached 40,000—20,000 less than that of Lincoln in 1864.

By clever maneuvering, the Democrats were in position to cause the Republicans considerable anxiety. By combining with a "Reform" movement in Hamilton County in 1869, they succeeded in maintaining a nominal majority in the state Legislature. On party issues, however, that combination acted with the Republicans. As candidate for governor the same year, the Democrats, under Pendleton's direction, had nominated General Rosecrans. The latter, much to the satisfaction of many Democrats, declined the nomination in a letter in which he scored the party for its erratic course. Pendleton, to save the situation, was forced to accept the state committee's nomination and suffer defeat by a margin of 7,500 votes.

Before the next Presidential election a series of events and factors in state and nation combined to awaken new hope on the part of disappointed Democrats and stranded Conservatives. In the light of these developments it will be seen how remote from certain popular interests was the canvass of 1868 with its election of a national hero and ambiguous appeal to national honor on an "honest money" platform.³⁹

³⁹ The Committee on Resolutions of the Republican Convention is reported to have struggled four hours before securing a resolution that was sufficiently ambiguous regarding "honest money."

CHAPTER III

THE NEW DEPARTURE

The election of General Grant in 1868 was secured without reference to the fundamental problems of the newer era; the keynote, "Let us have peace," the platform and the candidates merely asked the voter's approval of what had been achieved in reconstruction. This program proved expedient in carrying the election, but involved serious difficulties the moment the administration assumed responsibility for concrete action. The execution of the enforcement acts committed the administration to a radical policy against which a very powerful element of the Republican party was in a position of vehement protest. The disregard of the President for the conventions of his office, connected with his inability to judge men for their political capacity, had led to evils which gave rise to severe criticism and protest throughout the nation. The many sources of opposition, both social and economic, attested a national interest in the practical problems of the future, while indicating a flagging interest in the issues of the war.

An immediate effect of the Grant regime was to create a situation altogether favorable to the establishment of political alliances on issues more real than those of the shadow conflict of 1868.¹ As early as 1867, Hamilton County had furnished a conspicuous example of the possible success of such movements. Samuel F. Cary, who had been passed over by his party convention

¹The break between Sumner and Grant had early in 1871 aroused apprehensions of a serious break in the Republican party. Cf. *Ohio State Journal*, March 22, 1871.

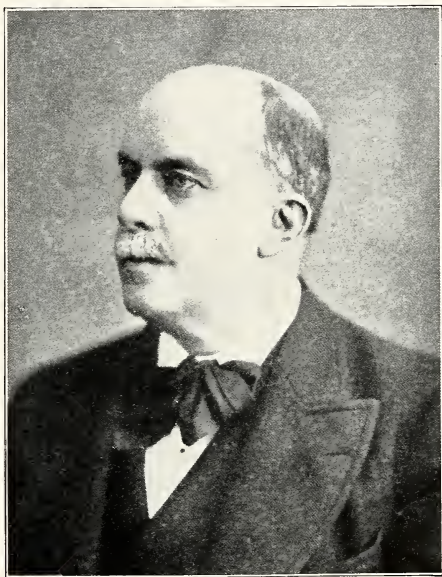
for the Second Congressional District nomination, opened an independent campaign against the regular nominee as a "Working-man's Candidate" and with the aid of his "Tin Bucket Brigade," gained recognition of the Democrats by his aggressive campaign.² His success was not lost sight of in the years immediately following. The partial Democratic success of 1867 had convinced many that the future of the party rested in acting "with such moderation and sound discretion that it may permanently convert them (the Conservatives) to the Democratic organization."³ It was in pursuance of this policy that party leaders had elected Thurman to the Senate over Vallandigham in January, 1868.

Vallandigham's retort was in the form of one of the most far-reaching political alliances consummated before 1871—that between himself and Chase before the National Convention which had nominated Seymour. It demonstrated at all events the degree to which political lines might be crossed during that era. The Pendleton men had saved themselves from Vallandigham's promotion of the Chase movement in the New York delegation only by uniting in advance upon Seymour.

²October 4, 1867, when Cary's election became a practical certainty, the *Enquirer* openly supported him. October 8, his name was inserted in the Democratic ballot.

³The Cincinnati *Enquirer* (October 14, 1867) asserted: "We could have given the Conservative Republicans one-half of the County offices, and made a clean sweep of the negro-worshiping, bank aristocracy and tax exempting bondholders of Hamilton County. Let us in the future fight the Devil with fire on a larger scale than we did in this County at the late election." The same paper, October 15, clipped the following from William D. Morgan's Newark *Advocate*: "Let it be the care of the Democratic party not to drive these men away from their new association; but let it act with such wisdom, moderation and sound discretion. that it may permanently convert them to the Democratic organization."

An attempt at a "New Departure" in the Democratic party had been side-stepped in a manner that encouraged renewed attempts.



JOHN R. McLEAN

Owner and publisher of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and long prominent in the Democratic Party of Ohio

In the state elections of 1869 and 1870, combination tickets were an altogether frequent experiment and extended to the nomination of General Rosecrans for gov-

error.⁴ Representatives James M. Ashley and Robert Schenck, of the Toledo and Dayton districts respectively, lost their seats in the elections of 1868 and 1870 by effective party and factional combinations. Such proofs of political instability were disconcerting to the established party leadership, but a source of encouragement to those who had ambitions or had experienced recent disappointments.

State and national elections from 1871 to 1873 were conditioned by the same attitude which had characterized the elections immediately preceding them. From the camps of both parties issued factional expeditions which held forth the hope of being offered favorable terms of leadership in the opposing camp, or of being met half way in the formation of an entirely new organization. Also an actual step was to be taken in the direction of shifting political issues from their former channels.

Cincinnati was fertile soil from which new political ventures were in the habit of springing. The instability of its voting elements was ever the hope and despair of aspiring politicians. The city's immediate touch with sectional interests, on the other hand, commended its atmosphere as peculiarly favorable for maturing political schemes which were in the grafting process. It was the vantage point from which Salmon P. Chase had aided in articulating the Republican party when he had first hoped to become President of the United States.

⁴ In remonstrating against the "miscellaneous" tickets in the election of 1869, the *Ohio State Journal* scored the "Republican Soreheads" in the following terms: "They are simply playing into the hands of our political enemies and damning themselves politically forever." *Ohio State Journal*, September 14, 1869.

March 10, 1871, the city was again the scene of an event which promised at least future influence for the men who promoted it. Quickened by the success of the Liberal movement in Missouri and the cause of "reunion and reform" which Carl Schurz was at the time promoting among the border states, a dozen disaffected Republicans took council with each other.⁵ Prominent among them was J. D. Cox, who had recently broken with Grant and resigned from the Cabinet. With him were associated George Hoadly and Stanley Matthews, prominent attorneys, Fred Hassaurek, editor of the city's most important German paper, and J. W. Hartwell, Vice-President of the Dayton and Hamilton Railway.^{5a} They declared as their program the common purpose of cleansing the Republican party, or starting a new one. The report of principles, embracing amnesty, civil service reform, specie payments and a revenue reform was signed by one hundred prominent citizens. The "Reunion and Reform Association," which grew out of the movement, although originally intended as a Republican affair, enlisted the interest of Democrats—especially those who felt their political discouragement most bitterly.⁶ The *Enquirer* was sympathetic. Some Republicans were hopeful and others were cynical.⁷ Sherman's sympathizers knew that the immediate objective was to secure their leader's seat in the United

⁵Cox was at that time in intimate correspondence with Schurz. See especially Schurz's letter of April 4 in Schurz's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers*, II, pp. 254-255.

^{5a}Cincinnati *Enquirer*, March 28, 1871.

⁶Cf. Schurz's *op. cit.*, II, p. 255.

⁷See especially Cincinnati *Enquirer*, March 23, 1871.

States Senate.⁸ The *New York Tribune*, whose editor was to figure prominently in the movement a year later, expressed the suspicion of regular party men when it scored the promoters "for oiling their favorites preparatory to getting them comfortably swallowed by the Sham Democracy as candidates for the Presidency."⁹

As the campaign of 1871 approached, the Democrats laid their plans with the growing Republican defection clearly in mind. With the exception of Pendleton, all proposed candidates for gubernatorial honors were at one time or another of Unionist or Republican antecedents. Naturally "the thoroughgoing Copperheads" must be kept in abeyance while the gap between the liberal elements of the two parties was closed.

Since 1868, Vallandigham had nursed his resentment in comparative silence.¹⁰ Pendleton was apparently in complete control of his party as he surveyed the possibilities of succeeding Sherman in the Senate. On May 19, however, Vallandigham's silence was broken by newspaper accounts of a Democratic county convention held in Dayton the preceding day. Under his leadership an elaborate program, characterized as a "New Departure" of the Democratic party, had been

⁸L. H. Bond wrote to Sherman October 16, 1874: "Three years ago I ran for the legislature and lacked only 150 votes of an election in a poll of thirty-nine thousand votes, and I carried the weight of Hassaurek's opposition and the enmity of all your rivals in Hamilton County, such as Cox, Hassaurek, Matthews and several others. These men have since assured me that personally they would have rejoiced in my success, but they knew I would support you, and therefore were not enthusiastic." *Sherman MSS.*

⁹Cited in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 13, 1871.

The *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 20, 1871, contains a collection of newspaper editorial reactions.

¹⁰Cf. Vallandigham, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-423.

adopted and submitted as a model for the State Convention called for June 1. The event was a clear challenge to the McLean-Pendleton dictatorship, as well as an overture to schismatic Republicans. The essential features of the program attacked the Radical party of 1871 as one different from the Republican organization preceding the war and as an "Administration or Grant party" dating from March 4, 1869. The term "New Departure" was drawn from the set of resolutions which dismissed the issues of the war, the Constitutional amendments, slavery, inequality, and "all that is of the dead past." "The Resolutions of '68, States' Rights, Negro suffrage, greenbacks for public debts, our Southern brethren, justice to the South and everything else which Democracy had held destructive as opposed to Black Republicanism, was turned into the hopper to be seen no more in the original," commented the *Dayton Journal*.¹¹ On its positive side the platform declared for universal amnesty, a strictly revenue tariff, elimination of extravagance, woman suffrage, and "reform of the extortionate system of banking"—a more comprehensive program than that offered by the Cincinnati movement.¹²

The essential features of the program were adopted by the State Convention, although the resolution concerning the Constitutional Amendments was strongly opposed by a minority group led by Frank Hurd of To-

¹¹ *Dayton Journal*, May 19, 1871.

¹² George Houk explained the philosophy of the movement by the following simile: "A great earthquake occurs. A mountain sinks and a lake appears in its stead. We must accept the lake for we cannot restore the mountain." *Dayton Journal*, May 19, 1871. Vallandigham declared it "not a New Departure but a return." *Cleveland Leader*, May 19, 1871.

ledo.¹³ A resolution to the effect that greenbacks be made convertible into 3 per cent bonds redeemable in greenbacks on demand, was conceded to the Pendleton group. The nomination of George W. McCook of the famous family of fighting McCooks was an additional bid for conservative support.

The Vallandigham *coup* attracted favorable and unfavorable comment throughout the nation. A congratulation from Chase for the great "service to your country and the party," was immediately forthcoming.¹⁴ The *New York Sun*, the *New York Herald*, the *Philadelphia Evening Herald* and the *Louisville Courier-Journal* were among the more conspicuous newspapers endorsing the program—the first named declaring that it placed "Mr. Vallandigham among the most conspicuous political leaders of the day."¹⁵ The *Enquirer* was at first non-committal, inviting "criticism and improvement if not opposition to the main idea."¹⁶ The Republican press naturally spared no effort in attempting to

¹³ Hurd's minority resolution that "the 14th and 15th Amendments, having been made parts of the Constitution by violence and fraud, are revolutionary and void," was voted down 169-296. *Cleveland Leader*, June 2, 1871.

¹⁴ Vallandigham, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 446 ff.

¹⁶ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, May 19, 1871.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (quoted in Vallandigham, *op. cit.*, p. 448) offered the following explanation: "While it makes no apology for the position the Democratic party has held in the past, it recognizes the situation, accepts facts that are accomplished, refuses to play heads and tails on the grave of issues that were live ones only in '62, '63, '64, and '65; it refuses to allow the Republican party to put a ring-fence around us and keep us dancing to the same old tunes and rattling the same old bones."

discredit Vallandigham as a perpetrator of fraud and promoter of treasonable hypocrisy.¹⁷

The program was accordingly not without its embarrassments. An advance movement of the sort naturally stood in danger of rear-guard defection. Thurman had just advanced to leadership of the Democratic minority in the Senate through his aggressive opposition to the Amendments, the Civil Rights and the Force Bills. The success of the movement inferred a loss of his leadership.¹⁸

The slight hold of the "Departure" upon the party was soon demonstrated. Shortly after the tragic death of Vallandigham, which occurred before the contest had fairly begun, the campaign languished in interest.¹⁹ Party leaders were soon convinced of the impracticability of shifting the issues too radically. Furthermore, the Republicans nominated General E. F. Noyes,

¹⁷ An observation of the *Ohio State Journal* is typical: "The whole game is plainly a ruse to catch the votes of colored men and those conservative Democrats who were driven into the Republican party by the treason of the Democracy during the war. . . . The New Departure, Bah!" *Cleveland Leader*, May 22, 1871. The *Ohio State Journal* under the same date declared: "It would be out of the course of nature for the Republican party not to feel some gratification that the great archtraitor of the peace Democracy has been brought by any means to get down on his belly and humbly eat the many dirty words which have defiled his mouth in the utterance during the past ten years. If his repentance were sincere, and his desire to atone for his miserable past by some good in the future could be accepted as reliable, the very angels in Heaven would rejoice over the salvation of this meanest of sinners." June 12, 1871, Hayes made the following entry in his diary: "I say with the *Albany Journal*, 'The voice is the voice of Jacob but the hand is the hand of Esau'."

¹⁸ "I regard this new move as one to foist you — your friend Thurman — Pendleton and others and place you as impracticable fogies . . ." James Fergerson of Center Point, Indiana, to Allen June 19, 1871. *Allen MSS.*

¹⁹ Vallandigham was accidentally shot while demonstrating the use of a pistol before a jury.

who had suffered the loss of a limb in the recent war, and who, as a young Republican was capable of showing how "thoroughly alive and vigorous are the principles that slew slavery and made the Union the guarantee of liberty."²⁰ The Republicans carried the election by 20,000 majority—three times that of 1869.

The Republican majority in the Legislature elected at the same time was not proof, however, that the first objective of the program—that of defeating Sherman for the Senate—was not to be realized. Shortly after the election, rumors gained currency that the Senator was to be sacrificed to the new political order. James Ashley attempted the part of chief ritualist. He had been a Representative from the Toledo district during and at the close of the war, and had been among the first to advocate impeachment proceedings against President Johnson. During the party tangle he had lost his seat in Congress.²¹ His scheme during the latter part of 1871 was to secure a defeat of a caucus nomination by the Republicans preceding the actual election by the legislature.²² By throwing the election directly into the latter body and securing the nomination of three or four Republicans, he contemplated the ultimate support of the Democrats for some candidate who had been determined upon as agreeable to both groups. Governor Hayes, Robert Schenck and J. D. Cox were prominent

²⁰ *Harper's Weekly*, July 8, 1871.

²¹ An account of Ashley is found in Winter's *History of North-western Ohio*, pp. 294 ff. Grant had later given him a "lame duck" appointment as Governor of the Territory of Montana, and shortly afterward dismissed him from that position.

²² J. R. Wing to Sherman, December 31, 1871. Under date December 4, 1871, Rush R. Sloane wrote: "Ashley will do his best against you and yet I think him only dangerous on account of his dishonesty." *Sherman MSS.* ..

among those considered for the position. The plan failed primarily because of the prompt action of Lieutenant-Governor Jacob Mueller. At the close of the first ballot, and before the result was announced, a Democrat changed his vote from General Morgan (the recipient of the complimentary vote of the Democrats) to Cox. The presiding officer refused to recognize others who attempted similar changes and declared Sherman duly elected.²³

The reelection of Sherman marked the failure of the first phase of the "New Departure," but did not check the plan to name Grant's successor as President. The call for the Liberal Convention at Cincinnati in 1872 marked Ohio as the storm center of what was now regarded as a national movement. The fiasco connected with the attempt is familiar history. The original promoters lost control of the convention proceedings amid political manipulations which paralleled, if they did not surpass, those of the older parties. Only the advancement of Greeley to the nomination was needed to demonstrate the lack of a serious or consistent purpose on the part of the delegates. As a result Ohio Democrats and Liberals faced a common *impasse*. George Hoadly and Stanley Matthews, the two Republicans of the state most conspicuously identified with the Convention, shortly declared that they would not support the "Whi-

²³ According to the *Plain Dealer* he was declared "elected President from the state of Ohio in the Congress of the United States for six years from the first of March eighteen hundred and seventy-two."

tey-Brown" ticket.²⁴ The Democracy on the other hand came to the support of Greeley, if one may call it support, only after hesitation and clear evidence that such action formed the expedient program. Following the lead of the party at Baltimore, the Democratic State Convention at Cleveland, June 27, "pronounced for the heartiest endorsement of the Cincinnati movement and its candidates, without abating one jot or tittle of the Democratic organization."²⁵ Thurman accepted the inevitable by a letter published July 15. He declared the election of Greeley preferable to that of Grant. "Individually," he wrote, "I preferred fighting under the Democratic banner, with a straight Democratic ticket; but I could not shut my eyes to the fact that a great many good Democrats were of a different opinion. And to me it seemed clear that any course that did not emanate from the masses of the party, would surely fail. Acting on this principle I have not answered a single one of the many letters that I have received upon the subject. * * *"²⁶ Throughout the campaign the Democratic organization remained intact—an excellent safety device in the face of the impending fiasco.

The defeat of the Liberal Republican ticket convinced many that the coöperative scheme was impracticable—"would not wash," according to the political parlance of the day. A final attempt, however, was yet to be made, which, preceding the election of the follow-

²⁴ The latter, who had denounced the Grant administration as consumed by the "slow poison of corruption," explained his defection on the basis of the principle of reform being in Adams but not in Greeley. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 6, 1872.

²⁵ *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, June 28, 1872.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1872.

ing year, and although not assuming the importance of 1872, presented the occasion for a noteworthy *coup*—a reversal of the political strategy underlying the developments of the preceding year. The “Allen County Movement,” as the “New Departure” of 1873 was called, was an echo of the preceding year. The occasion was the recurring Senatorial election: the Legislature elected that year would name Thurman’s successor to the Senate. Administration influence had already manifested itself in behalf of Columbus Delano, successor to J. D. Cox as Secretary of the Interior in Grant’s cabinet in 1870. The Credit Mobilier scandal and “Salary Grab” had succeeded other issues in nursing popular opposition to the Grant administration. Symptoms of a period of economic depression were becoming evident. A new impetus of unrest manifested itself among farmers and laborers; conventions voicing a spirit of opposition gained in frequency. One of these, a Workingmen’s and Farmers’ Convention, met at Mansfield, where Senator Sherman maintained his residence, early in June to register opposition to the “corrupt rings” of both parties.²⁷ A few weeks later a more important convention was held in Allen County. The leaders, T. E. Cunningham, Shelby Taylor and others, whom the press identified as “Johnsonizers,” drew up an indictment against “moneyed corporations” and their influence in Congress and connected it with a demand for governmental efficiency, revenue tariff and a repeal of laws “favorable to the capitalist to the prejudice of labor.”²⁸ Every one soon knew that the “Allen County”

²⁷ *Cincinnati Commercial*, June 9 and 10, 1873.

²⁸ *Nation*, August 14, 1873, p. 105.

movement was nothing less than an attempt to resurrect the Cincinnati movement of the preceding year. The Cincinnati *Commercial* published a list of one hundred and twenty Hamilton County Democrats, which it characterized as "the brains and wealth and energy of the Democracy in this quarter of the state," who stood ready to support the proposed program.²⁹ The State Convention was called to meet at Columbus, July 31—one week before the Democrats were scheduled to meet at the same place.

Before either convention met, however, Thurman's hand began to be felt. He let it be known that he had no sympathy for any movement which proposed to eliminate him as unfit for further service in the Senate. Until his hand was felt the *Enquirer* lent its support to the program with undivided enthusiasm.³⁰ Within a week, however, the editors could find no invective too bitter to be heaped upon the "obstinate Allenites and pig-headed Liberal Republicans."³¹ Aside from the *Enquirer* the movement met with slight encouragement from Democratic organs. The *Plain Dealer* gave expression to its attitude and at the same time undoubtedly represented the convictions of numerous other disappointed Democrats:

"The result of the Greeley Deal in Ohio last fall is not calculated to make the old straight haired moss-

²⁹ Cincinnati *Commercial*, July 18, 1873.

³⁰ Cf. especially Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 24, 1873. The *Commercial* afterward frequently called attention to the *Enquirer's* readiness to scrap the Democratic party. Cf. Cincinnati *Commercial*, January 3, 1876.

³¹"There will be men there like the mule that could not be kept in a pasture unless put in a meadow alongside and allowed to jump out." Cincinnati *Enquirer*, July 29, 1873.

covered Democrats enthusiastic about 'fusing all the elements.' The Democracy then did the principal voting—the Liberals the principal boasting; and if those Republicans who do not like the Credit Mobilier business, the back-sway swag, and the general demoralization of their own party, cannot form an alliance with us to free the Government from the depredations and blunders so apparent to all, without they break up the old Democratic organization, make it lay aside forever its historic and noble old name, then how can we admit there is any more honesty about them than about anybody else?"³²

July 31, when the State Convention met at Columbus, the program had become a distinct third party movement, backed primarily by the *Commercial*, and resolved that "neither of the old parties are to be courted or affiliated with."³³ Thurman, from his headquarters at the Neil House, kept watch over the actions of the Democratic element.³⁴ Before final action was taken, a committee was sent to make formal inquiry as to the Senator's attitude. In quite definite and emphatic terms he declared the room too small to serve as a burial-place for the Democratic party. By an eloquent plea he prevailed upon certain Democratic leaders to discounte-

³² Clipped in Cincinnati *Enquirer*, July 3, 1873. The *Enquirer* (July 2, 1873) declared: "The Democrats are perfectly willing to coöperate with Republican reformers. They will even, as they did in 1872, put them in the lead, backing them up with all their strength, but further than that they will not go and it is idle to talk about it."

³³ Cincinnati *Commercial*, July 30, 1873.

³⁴ July 7, 1873, Thurman declared the Allen County movement "hasty, ill-advised and not calculated to meet the approbation of the Democratic party at large." Cincinnati *Commercial*, July 7, 1873.

nance the Liberal and await the Democratic Convention.³⁵

A faction of the Convention, however, nominated a state ticket, placing Isaac C. Collins, a Cincinnati Democrat, at the head of it as the candidate for governor.³⁶ The *Commercial* became eloquent in commendation of the "People's Party" and in defiance of Thurman and the "battered, dilapidated and spoiled" Democracy:³⁷ "He (Thurman) has said continually that the thing to do was to 'blow the trumpet and rally the boys.' Let us see him do it now. He preaches a great Democratic revival. Very well. Produce it. Show us the mighty magic, the consummate chemistry, that will yield the result from the conditions of the country. * * *"³⁸

August 6, when the "old Democratic wheelhorses" met at Columbus, the program was practically fixed. Thurman had secured the assurances of his uncle, William Allen, popularly known as "Roaring Bill Allen," that he would accept the nomination for governor.³⁹ The latter, one of the most striking characters in Ohio politics, like his nephew, was of southern birth and a rigid disciple of the Democratic faith in the days of

³⁵ The Cincinnati *Enquirer*, July 31, 1873, declared that the program was designed to supersede Thurman by Hassaurek or Brinkerhoff. "Too much Brinkerhoff," was a common opposition criticism of the movement.

³⁶ Collins was formerly Matthews' law partner. Ford and Ford, *History of Cincinnati*, p. 416.

³⁷ The *Commercial* was frank in announcing the objective of the movement: "The present fight in Ohio is on the ground whether Mr. Thurman shall be Senator, or somebody else." July 19, 1873.

³⁸ Cincinnati *Commercial*, July 31, 1873.

³⁹ "A sobriquet gained by speaking successfully in a freight depot against the shrieking whistles of two locomotives." Cincinnati *Enquirer*, August 12, 1873. "The Ohio Gong" and "Fog Horn" were also sometimes applied.

Andrew Jackson. Tall, aggressive and commanding, he bore many points of resemblance to his earlier contemporary.⁴⁰ Although he had now been twenty-five years in retirement and was almost seventy years of age, his name bore the magic of twelve years' association as the "peer of Clay, Webster and other intellectual giants."⁴¹ "One blast from this old Jackson Democrat would be worth ten thousand men," declared the *Enquirer* in advocacy of the nomination.⁴²

The platform declared against the revival of dead issues and resolved to stand by its [Democratic] principles as "suited to all times and circumstances."⁴³ From the beginning, the Democratic campaign was aggressive. General Noyes, the Republican candidate for re-election, had met with embarrassments during his administration. The candidacy of Collins never passed a desultory stage—was in fact practically lost sight of in the heated campaign conducted by Allen and Thurman. The Republican attempt to ridicule the candidacy of Allen served only to advance the latter's cause. The slighting remarks of O. P. Morton, who came from Indiana to assist in the campaign, struck at state pride and aroused the resentment even of Republicans.⁴⁴ As the campaign progressed it became increasingly evident that the man of Virginia was gaining the ascendancy

⁴⁰ He was, traditionally at least, the originator of "fifty-four forty or fight."

⁴¹ *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 7, 1873.

⁴² *Cincinnati Enquirer*, August 1, 1873.

⁴³ *Annual Cyc.*, 1873, p. 610.

⁴⁴ In a speech at Athens, Morton said: "As well attempt to restore the customs and manners of ancient Egypt by presenting for our admiration and pattern well preserved mummies from her Pyramids." *Cincinnati Commercial*, August 25, 1873.

over the former native of New Hampshire. The Democratic party was triumphant. The failure of Jay Cooke and Company in September, and financial reverses following, contributed to the political reaction; it lent an element of reality to the bitter attack levied by the Democratic candidates upon the National Banking System and "bondholders who practised extortion through perpetuating the national debt." Allen's majority was somewhat less than 1000 votes; a Democratic Legislature assured Thurman a continuance in the Senate.

The "New Departure" and Liberal Republican movements were more than "spasms of political enthusiasm of a negative character." They did not pass away as quickly as they came, as one writer has declared. It is true that Sherman, Grant and Thurman in turn weathered opposition in the retention of their offices. Each of the old parties likewise retained its name and continued to insist, whenever circumstances demanded it, upon former traditions. Much that was prominent was staged by self-seeking politicians, and the importance of the movement might easily be over emphasized. For after all, the program, even as originally advanced, advocated little that was not at the time continuously professed by one or other of the existing organizations. Civil service reform—a self-denying ordinance for the party leaders in control of office—capitalized the popular opposition to jobbery in the administration, and enlisted the lip-services of all grades of office seekers as well as the support of the conscientious. At no time did the promoters of the movements profess a program that was not in accord with the tendencies that dominated in one way or another each of the older parties. The

real significance must be sought in the subsequent fortunes of the chief promoters. Thenceforth the "Stalwart" supporters of the administration were forced to call a halt upon certain of their more excessive practices. A party cleavage had been created which established a counterpoise to fast and loose methods. Staunch partisans might sneer in public at the Independent or "mugwump" for his "better than thou" attitude and party perfidy, but nevertheless they weighed his influence in party deliberations. In the next Presidential election they were forced to countenance as their candidate one whom they could only hope would prove amenable to their practices. With chagrin they saw the most prominent leader of the Liberal movement appointed to a cabinet position and exercise great influence upon the administration. In Ohio as elsewhere, Liberal leaders became available candidates for office in both parties. J. D. Cox was returned to Congress in 1876. Matthews was promoted for a brief period to the Senate and later awarded a seat on the Federal Bench. Democratic ranks were at the same time liberally recruited. Thomas Ewing, Jr., son of the great Whig leader, became influential in promoting the greenback cause among Democrats and was finally a candidate for governor. George Hoadly became a Democratic governor and entertained an ambition to become a Presidential candidate. In brief, after the days of Governor Allen, the selection of Democratic candidates who had formerly been Republicans was all but a universal feature of the party's strategy. The process also was indicative of the fact that the party was becoming a convenient alternative to Republicanism.

The complexity of party membership and the weight of tradition prevented a shifting of the political stage. The party stereotype was too firmly fixed and was in no way of becoming easily shattered. And yet the political center of gravity had been disturbed; it will be seen that the relationship of party tradition to the newer issues was thenceforth a matter of greater emphasis.

CHAPTER IV

DEPRESSION AND THE FINANCES

The Democratic *coup* of 1873 served to check somewhat the political maneuvering designed to promote third party movements. Through at least two decades following, party solidarity was to form the chief source of unity in the face of disruptive tendencies occasioned by the growing multiplicity of social and economic interests. Somewhere between the extremes of unity on the one hand and the atomizing tendencies of democracy on the other must be established a new order—one whose fundamental features were to be determined largely by the newer economic and social influences. The rôle of each party was to represent itself as more thoroughly identified with a higher ideal of unity than its rival and at the same time more thoroughly responsible in the task of reconciling individual and group interests with its attainment. This rôle of party organizations was naturally involved with a great degree of obscurantism. Programs designed to meet new issues were read into party traditions by empirical processes. The popular mind, obsessed by an approved legalism, constituted a high expression of na-

tional optimism: from its texture politicians, in much the manner of mediaeval scholastics, spun new rules for the safekeeping of society, and received public office as their reward. Accordingly the catholicity of an accepted doctrine was declared: by some sort of anamorphosis the new issue was squared with it and the voter left no choice other than following the line of patriotic duty in voting the ticket. The outward party tradition was preserved; voters in the mass were willing if not eager to be convinced of the transcendent wisdom of their party. A national election became for many, in consequence, the occasion for reconsecration to a chosen faith. While in outward manifestations, such as campaign speeches and legislation, government conformed to the popular image of democracy, social, economic and political readaptations were all but invisibly cloaked.

The medium of political methods as just outlined provided, at any rate, a practical basis of unity. Through a hierarchy of symbols, the party secured harmony, and in no other way, perhaps, could an organization have served the demands of its age. When Edward McPherson, in 1888, wrote that the Republican party is "both in the purity of its doctrine, the beneficent sweep of its measures, in its courage, its steadfastness, its fidelity, in its achievements and in its example, the most resplendent political organization the world has ever seen," he lent expression to a more or less articulate and powerful mass sentiment. Many inclined to discontent and open to convictions of injustice were enabled to bury their differences on the basis of a patriotic duty.

In Ohio, as might well be expected in a pivotal state,

voters were particularly subjected to those influences which molded the paramount convictions of their time. The observations of Brand Whitlock from the standpoint of experiences in a Republican stronghold were drawn with literary effect:

"In such an atmosphere as that in Ohio of those days it was natural to be a Republican; it was more than that, it was inevitable that one should be a Republican; it was not a matter of intellectual choice, it was a process of biological selection. The Republican party was not a faction, not a wing, it was an institution like those Emerson speaks of in his essay on "Politics," rooted like oak-trees in the center around which men grouped themselves as best they can. It was a fundamental and self-evident thing like life, and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, or like the flag, or the federal judiciary. It was elemental like gravity, the sun, the stars, the ocean. It was merely the synonym for patriotism, another name for the nation. One became in Urbana and in Ohio for many years a Republican just as the Eskimo dons fur clothes. It was inconceivable that any self-respecting person should be a Democrat: there were, perhaps Democrats in Lighttown; but then there were rebels in Alabama, and in the Ku-Klux-Klan, about which we read in the evening, in the *Cincinnati Gazette*. * * * The Republican party had saved the Union, won liberty for all men, and there was nothing left for the patriotic to do but to extol that party, and to see to it that its members held office under the government." ¹

¹ Whitlock, *Forty Years of It*, pp. 27-28.

Supplementary to party organization as an agency of unity, was a generally accepted economic and social philosophy hitherto common to an expanding frontier; and neither party was inclined to depart radically from its tenets. The *laissez-faire* ideal, which had found classic expression upon the advent of European expansion, met ready acceptance with the pioneers of Ohio industry.² In the days when the state passed through an agricultural stage of development, the idea that the chief function of government was to act as a supplement to individual effort with a minimum of restriction, had met with no serious difficulties. This idea, applied to an industrial community in its extreme form, countenanced an exploitation of human agencies on the same level with inanimate resources. Although producing commendable results, it frankly professed a callousness to all other theories of abstract justice.

The era was productive, as other eras are productive, of programs in opposition to dominant tendencies. Labor groups were experimenting with unions, and farmers began to visualize benefits in uniting with neighbors in the formation of granges. These associations professed a recognition of common interest and registered a protest against consequences which were held to be in need of popular control.

The dominant press on the other hand was constrained by the forces of opposition to lend concrete expression to the tenets of accepted philosophy. The *Cleveland Leader* was especially frank in its tendencies to dogmatize the relative rights of employers and em-

² For a discussion of *laissez-faire* ideals in national life, see Merriam, *American Political Ideas*, 1865-1917, chapter XI.

ployees. Accordingly it insisted that before the laws of business all were equals and "laboring men have no more rights than others."³ Higher wages might well work an injury through higher prices and fewer sales abroad: "If we aspire to be a manufacturing nation and to compete with the world in our sewing-machines, our agricultural implements, our edge tools and our pianofortes, the scale of wages must approximate (all things being equal) to that prevailing abroad."⁴ Labor, indeed, had the right to combine and strike, and no employer or company "can in this country legally compel the humblest working-man to labor one hour for wages lower than the latter is disposed to accept. It follows conversely—and here is the point of the whole matter—that no working-man or working-men can legally or with any prospect of public support, endeavor to coerce the employer to pay more wages than he feels disposed to pay. This is a free country; labor, like flour and coal, is worth what it will sell for in the market, not more. The working-man is entitled to the best wages he can get; the employer—even though it be a corporation—has the fullest right to buy labor as cheaply as possible."⁵ It was against an all but universal acceptance of this principle of industrialism that labor was remonstrating; something of a reversal of the process was being sought through legislation and unionism.

The advent of an industrial hierarchy implied social readaptations which stood in striking contrast to the

³ *Cleveland Leader*, May 29, 1874. This was the answer to the argument for an eight-hour day.

⁴ *Cleveland Leader*, January 25, 1868.

⁵ *Cleveland Leader*, July 23, 1877.

simple order of pioneer days. Even before the war period, various groups had ambitions to parallel the better social standards of eastern or southern society. Cincinnati had long been a favored resort with the southern aristocracy; and eastern visitors never failed to pay tribute to its exclusive residential district among the hills above the river. At the same time Euclid Avenue in Cleveland set Fifth Avenue in New York as its model, and one might observe here the same standards that held forth in Boston or Philadelphia. The day had all but passed when the state could not "boast a hundred silk hats."⁶ The problem was to secure a serving class which was likewise subservient in its attitude. The arrogance of household servants, "servant-galism" according to the *Toledo Blade*, might even command editorial attention.⁷ The strike of 1877 inspired John Hay, at the time resident in Cleveland, to write a novel which undertook to analyze the problem and indicate its solution.⁸ By its implications the American social tradition was in need of being fundamentally recast. The pseudo-romantic style strongly suggested Sir Walter Scott in its appeal to mediaeval tradition in support of social cleavage. Neither Hammond nor Calhoun, when they had been compelled to defend their system most stubbornly, had been more convincing. The European model, which Sherman had so spectacularly criticised in 1868, was after all the very ideal which commanded the admiration of the industrial parvenu.

The process by which the new order was being

⁶ Cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. LXXXIV, p. 684.

⁷ *Toledo Blade*, February 26, 1867.

⁸ *The Breadwinners* first appeared anonymously in 1883-84.

achieved was by no means uniform nor without protest. The period brought to the surface many and varied programs in conflict with it and each other. The State Convention called in 1873 to organize a new fundamental law, illustrates to a degree the extent of diversified interests, when the situation, detached somewhat from the element of party interests, was actually tested. Various provisions which were understood to threaten or be inconsistent with the demands of political rings, religious sects, temperance elements, liquor interests and others, were listed among the leading causes for the overwhelming defeat accorded that instrument. Very few approved of it entirely. One critic enumerated twelve issues which had alienated support. The problem of securing government responsible for increasingly intricate responsibilities connected with the new age was further complicated by the continuous struggle for political advantage. The domination of national issues in a pivotal state even in "off years" frequently subordinated local issues and converted the contest into a preliminary of a national election. The task of reconciling these interests and at the same time subordinating them to political advancement was worthy of the best efforts of any politician.

Prominent among local problems which at various times became issues were those especially which pertained to the control of liquor interests, taxation, maintenance of secular education, city government and elections, factory, mine and transportation regulation and the care of dependents and delinquents. Each of these at various times became prominent; occasionally certain features conditioned national campaigns. The natural

tendency, however, was to clear the path to solidarity of the national program by subverting these issues as stumbling-blocks in the path of the opposition.

The most threatening issue of a local nature to party solidarity was that growing out of recurring threats of a liquor revolt: the Western Reserve, which had been staunch in abolitionism, was especially open to moral convictions on the subject. Owing to a lack of restriction under which intoxicants were sold, practices had arisen which shocked an ordinary sense of decency. Due to a popular conviction that all citizens would become thereby party to the traffic, the state constitution forbade the licensing of saloons. Without restraint street peddlers with push-carts or drays and "alley rum-holes" dispensed the "vilest liquids ever poured into a human stomach."⁹ The *Cincinnati Commercial* declared it a shame "to see, wherever there is a shop employing a score of men, a great hulking fellow, squatted with his beer keg, snatching for the nickels that were much better spent for bread." The wave of protest of 1873 and 1874 in the form of a temperance prayer crusade which swept the state was the culmination of a movement which thenceforth became a relatively fixed issue. Under the leadership of Dr. Dio Lewis, a lecturer, women's bands were formed, first in Hillsboro and Washington Court House, whose program consisted in visiting places where liquor was sold, to sing and pray and to plead with the proprietors to close. If the doors were closed against them, the crusaders knelt

⁹ Cleveland *Leader*, January 27, 1871.

in the snow and prayed. The movement spread throughout the state and gained attention through occasional scenes which approached riots.¹⁰ From the "Washington Court House Movement" was finally evolved the National Women's Christian Temperance Union—a permanent institution of the anti-liquor forces.

Second only to the liquor issue for a brief period in the seventies, figured the problem of sectarianism and the public schools. The decade characterized by threatening labor revolts, witnessed extensive legislation relative to the establishment of compulsory state education. The advent of this feature of the new age naturally involved difficulties with sects, especially the Roman Catholic, whose ideals and traditions were infringed upon by this expansion of secular activity. The issue as to whether the Bible should be read in the public schools and whether public funds should be divided between secular and parochial schools, at various times threatened solidarity. A defeat of the Democratic party, however, at a time when the Republicans declared it most inclined toward serving the Catholic cause, went far in eliminating the controversy.

The relationship of the party organization to state issues was, from the nature of things, a haphazard one. It was from the standpoint of a broader relationship that the party claimed its special significance. It not only articulated the political activities of a state with those of the federal government, but it represented in large measure the bond which held together the greater and conflicting sectional interests. It was primarily in

¹⁰ *Cleveland Leader*, March 20, 1874, contains a characteristic account of one.

this capacity that a party disciplined voters, sought office for its candidates and attempted to intrench itself in power. The period from 1873 to 1879 was one which tested the efficacy of party government to the utmost. Although a partisan warfare was threatened, it was a spirit of party loyalty which became effective in restoring a degree of intersectional and group comity.

* * * * *

The difficulties of the nation after 1873 rested upon a series of complicating factors. Farmers, for the most part unorganized, industrial, railway, banking interests and rising labor groups were inclined to view the new problems from highly divergent standpoints. The first named was concerned with meeting financial obligations in the face of uncertain seasons, markets and conditions of transportation; railway magnates had frequently built on a faith in the future or with an eye to financial manipulation rather than with reference to legitimate public service; industrial interests were linked with banking institutions in demanding the liquidation of investments and credits in terms of "sound" finance; labor groups, comparatively silent during the war, were arising to protest once more against conditions which lay beyond their control as individuals. Supply and demand, the theoretical tyrants of a *laissez-faire* ideal, failed to keep credit, wealth and wages in a state of harmonious relationship. It was, consequently, against centrifugal forces no less than national in scope that party machinery operated; success in this field only constituted a worthy criterion of political effort.

The period of economic depression, the beginning of

which was signalized by the Wall Street panic in September, 1873, accentuated the primary issue about which party dogma tended to crystallize. The "dismal tale of declining markets, exhaustion of capital, a lowering in value of all kinds of property, including real estate, constant bankruptcies, close economy in business and grinding frugality in living, idle mills, furnaces and factories, former profit-earning ironmills reduced to the value of a scrap heap, laborers out of employment, reductions in wages, strikes and lockouts, the general railroad riots of 1877, suffering of the unemployed, depression and despair,"¹¹ were, according to Mr. Rhodes, indicative of how seriously the elements of economic life were disjoined. Between laborers and employers developed a degree of suspicion and cynicism hitherto scarcely paralleled in the hundred years of national life. Spokesmen for discouraged farmers and laborers with destitute families quoted the pulpit, the press and industrial magnates as proof that the latter were not only unsympathetic with the poverty and suffering of the unemployed, but were designing a dictatorship in order to protect their fabulous fortunes. The behavior of the parvenu in riotous squandering was to a discontented workman a sufficient answer to the argument that no greater compensation was possible for him and his associates.¹²

Industrial depression, the real cause and nature of which has consistently baffled the American business mind, dealt severely with the economic interests of Ohio.

¹¹ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. VII, pp. 52-53.

¹² Brice, *Financial Catechism*, pp. 195-199, contains a collection of such statements. The *Annual Cyc.* for 1877 under "Labor Strikes" contains a statement of the labor point of view.

Over half of its iron furnaces went out of business between 1873 and 1878. Wages were reduced on an average of 33 per cent.; forty-six miners in the Mahoning Valley receiving from \$2.50 to \$3.00 in 1873 received scarcely \$1.50 in 1878.¹³ The scrip system was resurrected. The laboring man was thus directly confronted with evidence that some agency stood between him and the liberty to exact a legitimate compensation for his efforts.¹⁴ The argument that Wall Street controlled business with a direct interest in its own profits only, became more than an empty theory.

When Congress assembled in 1873, the state and nation at large turned to that body in hopes of some solution to the difficulty. No less than sixty financial schemes were proposed—an evidence of a multiplicity of ideas if not of true financial wisdom.¹⁵ After four months of discussion relating primarily to the question as to how much the greenback circulation should be increased, a bill passed both houses which set \$400,000,000 as the maximum total. The President's veto of the bill stimulated popular discussion and subjected party lines

¹³ *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1878, p. 59.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-49, contains an estimate of the situation.

¹⁵ When financial discussion was at its height in 1868, Joseph Medill visited Washington and later wrote Sherman the result of his observations: "The trouble is that not one M. C. in ten has any clear ideas of the financial problem. I came away from Washington very much disgusted at the stolid ignorance and sneering indifference I found among many members who boasted to me that they did not understand finances and did not want to." *Sherman MSS.* March 9, 1868.

inside Congress and out to further confusion.¹⁶ Sherman, turning to a "redistribution" bill, which was designed to increase the circulation of money in the west, and other legislation designed to promote banking in the same section, finally secured a law designed to harmonize all interests and eliminate the issue as a source of embarrassment to his party.¹⁷ This was the Specie Payments Law of 1875. It promised through securing a gold reserve by the sale of bonds to secure for treasury certificates a circulating value equivalent to that of gold by January 1, 1879. Excepting the votes of a score of "hard money" Republicans who attacked the bill as perpetuating an unwarranted inflation, it was passed as a party measure.

¹⁶ Thurman, upon the passage of the bill, bade farewell to honest money and crooked his finger at the Republican party: "I doubt very much, Mr. President, whether the history of this or any other country in which free institutions have existed ever presented such a spectacle as was beheld here this afternoon. . . . The great Republican Party of the Senate of the United States has agreed to take the measure of a Democrat and place it upon the statute-books of the country, in defiance of the recommendations of its Secretary of the Treasury, and in utter scorn and contempt of the recommendation of its Committee on Finance. . . . Sir, I can take no credit for this triumph that my Democratic friend from North Carolina (Mr. Merrimon) has achieved. The Senator from Indiana, (Mr. Morton), the Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Logan), the Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Ferry), were looked upon as that paper-money trinity which was to be exalted above all other gods in the country; but all their glories have gone and faded, and it was reserved for the pine woods of North Carolina to shape the financial destiny of the country. Disband your party. . . ." *Cong. Rec.*, April 6, 1874, p. 2833.

¹⁷ A number of such bills were introduced at various times as remedies for the lack of circulating media in the west. They in general proposed to remedy the agricultural difficulty by extending the advantages of the banking system to that region. They may be considered the precursors of many "rural credit" schemes that have since been advanced.

The popular response to the financial issue was immediate. The election of 1874 returned thirteen Democrats and only seven Republicans from Ohio to the National Legislature—a significant contribution to the Democratic majority in that body. Such an overturn, however, was not due to any measure of solidarity among Democrats on the leading issue. Two party organs no less conspicuous than the *Enquirer* and *Statesman* proceeded to quarrel over Thurman's opposition to the inflation bill of 1874. The former leveled its attack upon Thurman as an agent of Wall Street; the latter declared the Democracy to have been a hard money party always, and supported Thurman in his vote. The Democratic State Convention, August 26, was presided over by Thomas Ewing, Jr., a recruit by way of the New Departure, and was dominated by a majority favorable to the payment of bonds, interest and one-half the revenue duties in greenbacks. This action presaged the serious breach in the Democratic ranks during the campaign of the year following.

June 17, 1875, brought the issue, so far as the Democracy was concerned, to a crisis. Pendleton, Morgan and Ewing headed the "rag baby" faction in the Democratic Convention; the renomination of Allen was secured on a platform which declared for the retirement of all national bank currency and its replacement by legal-tenders—the circulating value of the latter to be brought to a parity with gold by "promoting the industries of the people, and not by destroying them."¹⁸ An

¹⁸ Although the platform declared against sumptuary legislation, as to the liquor question, Samuel F. Cary, noted as an anti-liquor crusader, was nominated for second place.

influential group of Republicans had broken from their party in order to secure this unreserved commitment.”¹⁹

Thurman was especially embarrassed by the radical turn of events. He refused to deliver a ratification speech at Columbus at the time of the Convention. On July 31, at Mansfield, he opened the campaign by a speech which illustrates how slightly a difference of opinion need stand in the way of party unity: “* * * Understand me,” he declared, “I am not defending the platform, for in some particulars I do not like it, and I leave to those who approve it the task of its advocacy. Nor am I criticizing it, for I have no disposition to be critical and I leave that role to our common adversaries. But I think it but justice to say that the platform has been construed to mean more than is expressed in it, and more than was meant, as I believe, by those who framed it. In saying this I do not lose sight of the interpretation placed upon it by some of its friends. I know that some of its warmest advocates regard it as a declaration against gold and silver and for an irredeemable greenback currency now and forever, coupled with great and permanent inflation; but for reasons that I have partly stated and others that I have no time to state, I believe that these men are comparatively few in number. * * * The question is not strictly a party question. Honest men of all parties may be found on its opposite sides, and so it has ever been after every great panic by which the country has been afflicted. * * *” At this point he switched to other is-

¹⁹ In the words of the *Cleveland Herald*, hard money Democrats were asked to swallow a platform made by men “who have not been Democrats long enough to let the dirt accumulate under their nails.”

sues and explained his continued adherence to the Democratic Party because of its fundamentally sound principles.²⁰

Despite the serious lack of solidarity within the party, the Democrats inaugurated a campaign which compared in aggressiveness with those of 1863 and 1867. Newspapers and stump speakers made finances a household topic. A correspondent described popular interest graphically: "They think about it before they get up in the morning, discuss it at the table, turn it over on the street, talk upon it over the bar when solacing themselves with spiritual refreshment, and expound their favorite theory wherever and whenever they can find an audience.

"Some of their theories are wilder than the figments of a diseased brain but in most cases they seem to be honestly entertained, however crazy and impractical they may be."²¹

The passage of the Resumption Act secured for the Republicans a comparative element of unity. At least it was the basis of an effort to assure the farmer and laborer that shortly the bondholder would have no bet-

²⁰ In August, Republican papers drummed up campaign material from statements attributed to Thurman in a conversation with one Theodore Cook, at Put-in-Bay. The following and other quotations were featured: "The d—d priests have overdone this thing by sticking their noses into our politics." "Cary is an out and out communist." The *Dayton Journal* subsequently supplied Allen with the following "elegy": "Now I miss my lovely nephew, Who so often spoke me fair; He didn't keep his promise true, He has climbed the golden stair, Gone to California." August 17, 1875.

²¹ *Cleveland Leader*, September 24, 1875.

Governor Allen in the course of the campaign coined an epithet which became popularly attached to the Republican program; this was his reference to the Resumption Act as "a d—d barren ideality."

ter money than their own. And yet the party faced embarrassments. "The prospects of an election seem to me to be not good," Hayes wrote in his diary: "The third term talk, civil rights bill, the partisan appointments of the baser sort, in other words the *Butlerism* of the Administration, are all bad, and weights on us."²² The Republican Convention had apparently no other choice than to confer the nomination on the candidate who had twice before led his party through a crisis. Judge Alphonso Taft of Cincinnati was the only candidate other than Hayes to receive serious consideration. His recent attitude, however, relative to the rights of the Cincinnati Board of Education to require the reading of the Bible in the public schools, stood in the way of compelling the Democrats to stumble over that issue. Hayes was disinclined to jeopardize party harmony through committing himself to a contest with the generally accepted candidate. Charles Foster, the Congressional Representative from Hayes' district, however, encompassed Taft's defeat before the convention; the latter was led into a trap on the school issue which destroyed him with the "rural districts": "You need not feel any delicacy about the Taft matter," wrote an adviser to Hayes afterward, "*for in no possible event, would or could Judge Taft have been nominated. The 'Rural Districts' did not want him and were determined not to have him in spite of Dick Smith or anybody else.*"²³

Following the nomination of Hayes, the redemption of Ohio became a problem of national necessity to

²² Hayes' *Diary*, April 18, 1875.

²³R. P. Kennedy to Hayes, *Hayes MSS.*, June 3, 1875.

the Republican Party. Prominent leaders from other states joined their influence in the common cause. Carl Schurz was prevailed upon to return from Switzerland in order to win over Cincinnati Germans and help smash "Old Bill Allen." Charles Francis Adams pictured the situation in terms of despair: "Allen's election will be our destruction; his renomination on the rag money issue was a defiance and insult to us, and his success would render us contemptible."²⁴ If we don't kill him he will kill us." An old Jacksonian "wheelhorse" was promising to duplicate the work of his earlier contemporary in smashing a credit system that, since the days of Alexander Hamilton, had been a recurring source of controversy. Fortunately for Republican success, a defence of the banking system did not enter seriously into the contest. The extreme views of Cary that a stamped paper currency made a legal tender in all cases, "formed a currency as nearly perfect as possible," enabled the Republicans to take the offensive in behalf of "hard money." Hayes made above fifty speeches and effectively attacked any governmental scheme of inflation not convertible into coin as "a violation of the national faith and a destruction of national credit." Sherman was effective, on the other hand, in turning the inflation side of his Resumption measure to his audiences. After one of the most memorable campaigns in national politics the Republicans claimed the state by a margin of 5500 votes.

The narrow margin of defeat, coupled with certain other untoward features of the campaign, afforded the Democracy excellent reasons for feeling that their

²⁴ Schurz' *Speeches, Correspondence, etc.*, III, p. 156.

financial policy had continued political possibilities. The Republicans had forced an issue in accusing the Democrats of designing to divide public funds between public and parochial schools. Cowles of the Cleveland *Leader* especially urged that issue against the liberal financial tendencies of the Reserve. A Republican organ frankly attributed the heavy vote of its party in the Reserve to the Catholic issue: "The currency issue appealed to the heads of citizens; the school question went straight to their hearts."²⁵ Shortly after the election General George W. Morgan, formerly a Democratic Congressman and candidate for Governor, wrote Allen: "Outside of the financial issues we did not make a vote, and all we lost, and they were not a few, were on the Church Question."²⁶

While Ohio Republicans thanked the school issue and the "solid South" for the margin of their victory and sought to escape the financial issue in another campaign, the national currency Democrats planned to force their candidate and platform upon the national convention. As early as January, 1876, the *Enquirer* advocated holding the state before the national convention, adopting the platform of the previous year, demanding a western candidate, "and then see whether the Tildenites will dare go back on us."²⁷ As in 1868, the Ohio Democracy was determined to lead a popular cause in effecting the overthrow of the Republican machine: J. J. Faran, an editor of the *Enquirer*, and Governor Allen's closest adviser, was convinced that the "Ohio idea" was the

²⁵ Cleveland *Herald*, October 13, 1875.

²⁶ Allen MSS. October 16, 1875.

²⁷ Quoted in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, January 29, 1876.

only fit instrument with which to counter the Republican "Confederate Brigadier" and secure the Presidency.²⁸

The circumstances under which the Allen endorsement was ultimately secured, however, did not promise well for his candidacy in the National Convention. Thurman continued to entertain hopes of support in spite of his defeat in the State Convention. The nomination of Tilden had already become a foregone conclusion, and, as in 1868, the New York wing of the Democracy was able to override the schismatic Ohio Democracy to its own ends. "Tilden was nominated before the Convention and it was not in the power of man to beat him," wrote General Morgan to Allen after-

²⁸ His representations in a letter to Allen, who, in spite of recent defeat, was courting the hope of becoming the Presidential nominee, infer all that is necessary in the way of commentary: "The Democratic party seems to be in a pretty 'torn' condition, and the prospect is that it will not be much improved by the time the Convention meets, in June, or July next. It does not seem possible for there to be a common agreement on the currency question. It is even doubtful whether the Democratic House can be brought to vote in favor of repealing the resumption law. The movements of the business men of Cleveland and Toledo in favor of the repeal of that law show how the general public is coming to regard the matter. And the most of these very men voted against you last fall.

It must be evident to every candid and thinking Democrat, that nothing but *our* Ohio currency views can secure to the Democratic party success in the Presidential race. "It is too soon yet, to entrust the Democratic party with its rebel element, with the control of the General Government" is the sentiment of the Republican leaders, which presses are now inculcating and it will be their main reliance in the campaign. And I know its power among the people. We can present nothing that can down it like our currency plan, which takes with the people the more it is known and understood—it is so right, and just and Democratic in itself." *Allen MSS.* February 3, 1876.

ward.²⁹ The third national campaign since the close of the war thus found the Ohio Democracy in the same plight as in each of the preceding campaigns: Tilden was "crow pie" just as Seymour and Greeley had been.

For the first time since 1860, the Republican nominee for the presidency was not a foregone conclusion. The party approached the contest with serious misgivings. When the National Convention met at Cincinnati, Conkling, Blaine, Bristow, Morton, Hartranft, Jewell and Hayes were backed by leaders who attributed peculiar availability to their respective candidates. Subsequent events, however, justified an estimate of one of Hayes' followers as essentially sound:

"The people are disgusted and mad with the abounding corruption at Washington and elsewhere, and feel more keenly on that subject just now than any other. Hence the cry for Bristow—and in the other party for Tilden. But Bristow will not have the hearty support of the friends of Grant, Conkling, or Morton. Blaine in losing Massachusetts will suffer severely, besides not being acceptable to the Independents and his residence is at the extreme East and sectional, and he is notoriously too active and self-seeking. At the Convention some man identified with the great Mississippi Valley and the West, of sterling character and ability, with administrative reputation and experience, a good war

²⁹ The letter continues: "The South did the decisive work, and I believe her representatives as a rule acted from honest but mistaken motives. . . . In consequence of trouble of my throat, I was not able to announce your name. I had intended doing so with an aggressive attack on the money power, but the result would not have been changed. . . . A considerable portion of the press was subsidized to Tilden's interest and the discipline of his friends was like that of an army." *Allen MSS.* August 1, 1876.

record—and in sympathy with the people, whose sentiments on the subject of good money, free schools, political morality and civil reform, are not merely expressed, but acted upon and are known to everybody, who has not been mixed with the corruptions and jealousies festering in Washington, will be selected and all Republicans will be satisfied and will join in electing him.”³⁰ By making no mention of Sherman’s Resumption Law, the Cincinnati Convention contributed still further to Hayes’ availability. His candidacy was a guarantee to the East against the aggressions of the “rag baby.”³¹ The party was accordingly free to take the offensive in Ohio and Indiana against the “Confederate Brigadier.”

The political situation in Ohio and the West generally forced a truce on the money issue. Despite the Democratic nomination of a “hard money minion of Wall Street”, a “cold-blooded Vampire of Western Railroads,” Republican hegemony was threatened. A common bankruptcy threatened again to restore the southern-north-western alliance which had been effective in 1828 and 1844. Ex-Governor Morton estimated that \$100,000 would be required to hold Indiana within the Republican ranks.³² Blaine, Sherman and Morton essayed to check the tide by waving the “bloody shirt.”³³

³⁰ H. S. Noyes to Hayes. *Hayes MSS.* May 12, 1876.

³¹ Hayes to Schurz, June 27, 1876, in *Schurz' Speeches, Correspondence, etc.*, III, p. 254.

³² Hayes' *Diary*, August 13, 1876.

³³ Sherman and Hayes had, of course, long before the canvass of 1876, made use of the great expedient of capitalizing war enmity and suspicion as implied by the “bloody shirt” and “Confederate Brigadier.” In 1871, Hayes, in reference to one of Sherman’s speeches on the Ku-Klux outrages, wrote in congratulatory terms: “You have hit the nail on the

Hayes was convinced of the expediency of that device. He counseled Blaine, just as the latter started on his tour of Indiana and Ohio: "Our strong ground is the dread of a solid South, rebel rule, etc., etc. I hope you will make these topics prominent in your speeches. It leads people away from 'hard times' which is our deadliest foe."³⁴ A margin of only 7,500 votes in the candidate's native state indicated how necessary had been the need of capitalizing the emotional heritage of the war. Although the voters were given no real opportunity to register their attitude on the financial issue, it was altogether clear that a popular protest was weakening the hegemony of the Republican party. In fact, it was necessary to consult the interests of the "Confederate Brigadiers" themselves before it became entirely clear that the Democratic candidate was to be counted out.

The circumstances under which the Hayes administration subsequently entered office were in every way discouraging. The Democratic candidate had secured a popular majority of 250,000. Hayes' claim to office rested upon a margin of one vote in the electoral college,

head. Nothing unites and harmonizes the Republican party like the conviction that Democratic victories strengthen the reactionary and brutal tendencies of the late rebel states. It is altogether the most effective thing that has lately been done." *Sherman MSS.* April 1, 1871.

³⁴ Under date of August 9, 1876, Hayes wrote Schurz as follows: "A vast majority of the 'plain people' think of this as the main interest in the canvass. *A Democratic victory will bring the Rebellion into power.* They point to a host of facts and are greatly moved by them." Schurz' *Speeches, Correspondence, etc.*, III, pp. 284-285.

Again under date of September 15, 1876: "The canvass daily brings to the front more and more as the leading topics, the danger of a 'United South' victory, and Tilden's record as a reformer." Schurz, *op. cit.* III, p. 338.

and that secured only after negotiations which involved threats of open revolt. Democratic newspapers discussed "fraud" and the "Presidential steal" in terms which carried conviction with an electorate which faced continuously falling prices and stagnant business. It was incumbent upon the President to be as much of a Democrat as his opponent would have been, if not more so, in order to restore a degree of equilibrium. But a Democratic majority in the House was more inclined to embarrass an administration program than to assume the responsibility for one of its own. The narrow Republican plurality in the Senate contained only three men willing to accept the President's leadership.³⁵ At the the end of six weeks, Cabinet appointments and a southern policy which circumstances had forced upon the President, precipitated a party schism against which no element of unity seemed possible. Before the summer following the inauguration had passed, the party had lost its identity in factions.

Hayes' southern policy broadened the schism in the Republican party, and it was further complicated by an attack upon Sherman's plans for resumption under the leadership of politicians of both parties. A beginning was made in a House bill revoking all power of bond issues for resumption purposes. This was followed shortly by another bill to open the mints to the free coinage of silver. Bills of a similar nature had been introduced during the preceding summer; the increased production of silver furnished the key to a type of credit

³⁵Hoar, *Autobiography*, Vol. I, p. 429 and Vol. II, Chap. II. For a "Stalwart" excoriation of Hayes, see Platt, *Autobiography*, pp. 84-97.

inflation as an antidote to business depression which to all appearances eliminated the embarrassing features of the greenback movement. The author of the bill of 1876 declared for the program of "free and unlimited coinage of silver" or a resort to "issuing paper money enough to stuff down the bondholders until they sicken." The measure, moreover, side-stepped the argument of "rag babyism," which had embarrassed the greenback program. Silver as "coin" fulfilled the specifications of bonds. One of Allen's correspondents stated the possibility squarely when he inquired: "Does it (the Bland Bill) not enable us—of the East at all events—to throw the "rag baby" off on the radicals, by assuming to champion the word of the bond—coin?"

The passage of the Bland Bill in the House in November, 1877, was secured with the aid of sixty-seven Republican votes—this out of the total affirmative vote of one hundred sixty-four. Influence favorable to silver coinage rested without reference to party lines in the delegations of states west and south of Pennsylvania. The bill repealing the power of the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds for the purpose of securing coin for resumption was defeated in the Senate. Also the silver coinage act was ultimately modified into a compromise requiring the government to purchase and coin only two or four millions' worth of silver monthly. In this form the law passed over the President's veto.

Throughout the period of financial manipulation, the Ohio delegation played a conspicuous part. Thomas Ewing, only recently converted to the Democratic ranks, led the fight for the repeal of the Resumption Law. Stanley Matthews, who had failed to follow the Liberal Re-

publican movement after the nomination of Greeley, championed the movement "to do something for silver" in the Senate. He had been selected to complete Sherman's unexpired term when the latter entered the President's cabinet. In December, 1877, shortly after the Bland bill passed the House, he introduced a resolution explicitly declaring that in the opinion of Congress, all the bonds of the United States issued or authorized to be issued were payable in the silver dollars of the proposed Bland Law. His eloquence in behalf of the necessity of relieving a condition of national bankruptcy was a feature of the Congressional session. Sherman had not been more eloquent in 1868 in reference to the justice of paying the bonds in greenbacks: "* * * It can be demonstrated by an impregnable array of facts, that silver can today buy more of every other known product of human labor than it could in July, 1870, gold alone excepted: lands, houses, stocks of merchandise, machinery, labor, everything but gold; here and elsewhere. In Asia, in Europe, throughout this whole continent, nowhere, measured by the average price of the general commodities of the world, has silver depreciated the breadth of a hair. * * *"³⁶ And Sherman had evinced no greater deference to popular demands: "* * * What else means all this cry of discontent? What else means all this half-suppressed murmur of dissatisfaction? Do gentlemen suppose that people are crying out when they suffer no pain? Do they suppose that the voice of lamentation comes up from the homes of the people merely that they may hear themselves speak and cry? Or is it the truth

³⁶ *Cong. Rec.*, 45 Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 7. pt. 1, p. 91.

and is it the fact that the distress of the country is beyond all historical comparison in our country, and that to-day it will require but a few more turns of the wheel to submerge the majority of the body of the people into hopeless bankruptcy?

"So then, Mr. President, on any ground and in any view that I am able to take, if we restore the silver dollar to its former and accustomed place in our legislation, in our coinage, and in our currency, we are still paying the public debts according to a large and a full and overflowing measure of value."³⁷ When interrupted by a question as to the rights of foreign subscribers to American bonds, the speaker retorted, "What have we got to do with abroad?" Thus Sherman's resumption scheme was threatened by the same sort of party opposition as the Secretary had himself led ten years before against McCulloch.

Nor was the position of Secretary Sherman a happy one. Caught between "two clouds, one East and the other West," the latter giving "wrathful token" against treasury schemes "for making dearer the money in which these enormously usurious bonds are to be paid," he grasped for some program for placating both elements.³⁸ During the campaign of 1876 he had aroused the "bullionists" as if he were an "inflationist of the worst type."³⁹ His scheme, as advocated at that time, declared for the payment of greenbacks in silver. This policy he declared a safe middle ground between the extremes of opinion in the East and West. In subse-

³⁷ *Cong. Rec.*, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 7, pt. 1, p. 91.

³⁸ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 18, 1877.

³⁹ *Toledo Blade*, July 21, 1876.

quent interviews he reiterated this, his so-called Marietta doctrine.⁴⁰ He undoubtedly experienced the full impact of the silver movement. One of his most trusted Ohio advisers warned him that the urgency to coin and issue silver was so great that unless complied with it would result in the issue of more greenbacks "in spite of fate * * *" ⁴¹ Sherman at any rate advised the President against a veto of the Silver Bill.⁴² At the same time he sought a supplement to the Resumption Law in the form of authority to issue bonds for currency. In this he fell squarely back upon his financial program of 1868—namely, that of restoring specie payment through the issuance of bonds. He held that the process of selling bonds need not go far before the mere fact that the legal-tenders were receivable for bonds "would bring them up to par, and that is specie payment".⁴³ And yet this program was opposed through fear of over contraction.

Sherman had thoroughly aroused all factions of national credit advocates through his Resumption Law without having satisfied those opposed to every form of government credit. Under the caption "Manhood and honor should have hard hearts," *Harper's Weekly* ridiculed the Secretary's temporizing attitude. His interview with a correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial* was quoted as illustrative of his attitude against the coinage of silver. Accordingly, he had declared the funding operations checked, "if not all broken up, and

⁴⁰ Cleveland *Herald*, June 12, 1877.

⁴¹ C. W. Moulton to Sherman, August 14, 1877. *Sherman MSS.*

⁴² Sherman, *Recoll.*, II, p. 623.

⁴³ *Ann. Cyc.* 1877, p. 239.

we shall have to wait for the sober second thought from the people themselves, who will set this thing right." Before the Finance Committee he stated the effects of the silver bill as having been adverse in stopping refunding operations. "On the other hand," he added, "I will give the favorable effects: In the first place, the Silver Bill satisfied a strong public demand for bimetallic money, and the demand is, no doubt, largely sectional. No doubt there is a difference of opinion between the West and South and the East on this subject, but the desire for the remonetization of silver was almost universal. In a government like ours it is always good to obey the popular current, and that has been done, I think, by the passage of the Silver Bill. Resumption can be maintained more easily upon a double standard than upon a single standard." * * * "

Throughout the entire period of the controversy, members of the Ohio delegation were subjected to strong pressure by their constituents. In January, 1878, the State Legislature resolved upon "the common honesty, true financial wisdom and justice to the taxpayers of this country" connected with the "immediate restoration of the silver dollar to its former rank as a legal-tender for all debts, public and private." President Hayes and Secretary Sherman, in their opposition, were declared as not representative of the "views nor wishes of the people of the State of Ohio on this vital issue, as is shown by the passage of a resolution by the Sixty-second General Assembly of Ohio, in its regular session of 1877, asking Congress to restore the said

silver dollar, with only three negative votes in the House of Representatives and but one in the Senate, and by the passage of a bill by the House of Representatives of Ohio at the same session, making silver coin a legal-tender for all debts and demands throughout the State of Ohio in conformity to the universal voice of the people of Ohio, irrespective of party." Thurman presented at the same time another petition for the repeal of the Resumption Law, which he declared to have been signed by prominent men irrespective of party.⁴⁵ The anti-silver advocates were alarmed by the sweep of silver sentiment which became manifest in the state during the campaign of 1877, and were cynical toward Republican leaders who made haste to make political capital of the industrial panacea. On one occasion, Senator Matthews, hoping to be reelected to a full term in the United States Senate, in the course of a stump speech, held a silver dollar to the crowd and declared himself "in favor of coining as many of them as might be necessary" with gold and greenbacks, "to oil the machinery which shall keep the great business of the world in free and harmonious action, so that every man shall be busy in keeping up with the wheels of industry."⁴⁶

And there was need for haste if Republicans were to shelter themselves in the apparent neutrality of the silver zone. The Democrats were already claiming pre-emption rights to the issue. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* boasted itself the high-priest of the new order, the first paper to call attention to the fact that "if the dollar of antiquity should be respected, the silver dollar shone far

⁴⁵ *Cong. Rec.*, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess. Vol. 7, pt. 2, p. 953.

⁴⁶ *Nation*, August 9, 1877, p. 81.

above all other dollars; that if the ancient halo were of consequence, the white gold was the most venerable." The editor declared his attitude consistent with his previous record: "The greenback heresy of 1867-68 is identical with the silver heresy of 1876-77. The Ohio Democrats are not unwilling to be regarded as the leaders in these movements. We called attention to these facts a year and a quarter ago, substantially as we have now stated them." ⁴⁷

The financial issue represented but one phase of the political tangle from which Ohio Republicans sought to extricate themselves. The President's southern policy, his insistence upon placating the Liberal elements through greater efficiency of the civil service, each threatened serious defection. By yeoman service the State Convention in 1877 was brought to pay lip service to the administration. "If an attempt had been made to endorse Hayes' southern policy, two-thirds of the Convention would have been against him," a prominent Cleveland attorney wrote Sherman. "*It was a personal acquaintance of most of the delegates with the man and a desire to help him in the delicate position in which he found himself placed that gave him the endorsement of the Convention. Had he been elected as a resident of any other state, the Convention would have done just what the Iowa Convention did. * * ** The last order of the President 'decitizenizing' Federal officeholders * * * takes an army of workers out of the contest." ⁴⁸ In seeking a parallel to the President's difficulties as he attempted to serve honest convictions, one may

⁴⁷ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 4, 1877.

⁴⁸ W. C. McFarland to Sherman, August 4, 1877. *Sherman MSS.*

recall the days of President Johnson just a decade before. But it would be more difficult to determine just which party was more willing to lead the assault.

Out of respect for the "Murphy movement," as the labor crisis of 1877 was called, the Republican Convention of that year overreached itself in respect to both the candidate and platform. The party viewed "with alarm the present disturbed condition of the country" and as an earnest of desire to find a remedy recommended first, that Congress establish a National Bureau of Industry. Second, that Congress exert its authority over all national highways of trade by prescribing and enforcing such reasonable regulations as will tend to promote safety of travel, secure fair returns for capital invested and fair wages to the employes, preventing mismanagement, improper discriminations, and the aggrandizement of officers at the expense of stockholders, shippers, and employes. Third, that provision be made for statutory arbitrations between employers and employes, to adjust controversies, reconcile interests and establish justice and equality between them.⁴⁹ Business men openly avowed that they would not support the ticket.⁵⁰ Laboring classes had only contempt for the statutory arbitration provision. One, listening to Matthews' elaboration of the platform, was satisfied that "Tom Scott can buy them off again."⁵¹ If business men were alarmed by the platform and a candidate who declared his adherence to it, the laboring classes were unwilling to accept the party's overtures in good faith. Without placating

⁴⁹ *Annual Cyc.*, 1877, p. 620.

⁵⁰ T. Ewing Miller to Sherman, August 20, 1877. *Sherman MSS.*

⁵¹ *Nation*, October 11, 1877.

either set of interests, Ohio Republicanism reached the lowest ebb of its fortunes since it had secured national control.

The Democracy was, in consequence of Republican schism and defection, for a second time since the war, able to elevate its candidate to the governorship. William M. Bishop, a wholesale grocerman of Cincinnati, untried in politics, but reputed to be a millionaire, was nominated on an anti-resumption, free silver and greenback platform dictated by the *Enquirer*. Disaffected Republican business men and politicians were apathetic in the face of his election. The Democratic State Legislature elected Pendleton as Thurman's colleague in the Senate. In control of the State Governorship and Legislature, its members commanding two-thirds of the state's apportionment of seats in the House and both Senatorships, the party planned optimistically to take charge of the Presidency in 1880.

CHAPTER V

A POLITICAL TRUCE

Both parties encountered difficulties in squaring their ranks for a Presidential campaign which at best promised neither more than a narrow margin of victory. Industrial depression had produced a labor movement by far the most pretentious that the state had thus far experienced; and it had clouded political reckoning on either side. After the Republican socialistic dip of 1877, the party faced apparent difficulties in extricating itself from a serious dilemma. It had betrayed those very principles which made it an acceptable association

among those who gave it influential support. Defeat offered a welcomed opportunity for repentance. The Democratic victory, on the other hand, had been won under any but fortuitous circumstances. To face the situation or to ignore it was equally hazardous. The party turned to a positive program. A solution to the prevailing industrial and social anarchy was sought through the enactment of such broad socialistic measures that the Republicans were able to take the offensive.

The decade ending in 1875, under the shadow of war issues, had been free from any great difficulties arising from concerted labor movements. Ohio, like other states possessing industrial pockets, had been threatened by independent labor movements, but none had reached significant proportions. Major parties had been proof against a schism of that sort producing any great rift in the political structure. Campaign speeches and newspaper editorials had preached the party gospel with conviction.¹

Nor did Ohio farmers threaten seriously to oppose accepted practices. Their support of the Granger movement did not reach the proportions accorded it by their fellow-workers to the South and West.² Agricultural conditions had in the first place become comparatively stabilized. Farmers who could not secure ample

¹ "Republicanism, strongly and faithfully supported, is the best and only agent through which true reformers of labor laws, intemperance and other evils, can attain their end." This was a declaration of the *Cleveland Leader* and was repeated in various forms. It was of course a form of ballast with which a party was inclined to face any threatening circumstance, as indicated in the first part of Chapter IV.

² In 1876 the number reached 305 organizations to each 100,000 engaged in agriculture. Buck, *The Agrarian Movement*, pp. 68-69.

returns from the sale of crops found some satisfaction in the increment of land values. At the same time urban development furnished an expanding market for the products of diversified farming, and the flood of migration westward tended to drain off the unfavorably situated.³

The years 1876 to 1878, however, formed an epochal stage in the attempt of labor leaders to establish an independent party movement on a national scale. In 1877, the success of such a program appeared imminent. Two conventions, one at Cincinnati and the other later at Columbus, placed candidates in the field. Their platforms differed primarily in respect to the financial issue. The latter among other provisions declared for the remonetization of silver, the payment of the bonds at or before maturity, repeal of the resumption law, and "a wholesome control over corporate bodies and the fostering of resources in order to fully and profitably employ labor." An income tax and provision against "store script" for labor was also advocated. The combined votes of the tickets was somewhat less than 30,000, almost ten times the vote Peter Cooper, the Greenback Presidential candidate, had polled the year before. In 1878, the two factions succeeded in combining their tickets, and Ohio again promised to become the stage of an important national movement. February 22, 1878, Working-men, Greenback and Labor Reform organizations met at Toledo and launched the National party. July 23, various factions of the state pooled their interests at Columbus and

³ Euck, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 and 5. Industry, besides absorbing many immigrants, made exactions from the agricultural population.

placed Andrew Roy, a Jackson County coal-miner, at the head of their ticket. The new organization clearly threatened to command more votes than ordinarily determined the balance of power between the other parties.

The Democrats especially faced a dilemma as the new party threatened its hegemony. It was without a clear record on the financial issue except its opposition to the resumption act which both "hard" and "soft" money men could oppose or advocate for opposite reasons. Thus while Thurman was being attacked as having not "a single idea in his head which was not pumped into it by August Belmont,. . . ." Ewing was leading the attack against the Resumption Law as a deflation measure.⁴

Before the election of 1878, however, an apparent agreement had been reached: Thurman and Ewing at any rate came to a closer understanding.⁵ Whatever opposition existed to the former's financial views was designed to be eliminated by a key-note speech delivered at Hamilton, August 11. He declared squarely for the party platform (a national currency instrument) and astounded "hard money" Democrats by declaring his stand consistent with his former record: "Inasmuch as, in certain quarters, I am denounced as a man who has surrendered his conviction to appease a popular clamor, it may be pardonable in me to occupy a few

⁴*Ohio Statesman*, July 25, 1878.

Since 1875, when Thurman broke with his venerable uncle regarding the financial issue, and especially since 1876, when the two had been rivals for the Presidential nomination, the *Enquirer* has been opposed to Thurman's political interests.

⁵*Ohio Statesman*, July 11, 1878.

moments in replying to the charge." Accordingly he had steadily opposed contraction, spoken and voted against resumption and for its repeal, and worked hard to restore silver to the place it held before its demonetization. He had proposed that greenbacks be received for custom duties and had been against an increase of the bonded debt. After the manner of his day he attacked the National Bank which drew interest on its indebtedness, perpetuated the national debt and "tended to combine, concentrate and intensify the money power."⁶

The *Dayton Journal* thenceforth declared the *Enquirer* appeased.⁷ The *Cleveland Leader* stated that Thurman had knowingly embraced the false God, just when the tinsel and glitter was being torn away.⁸

A Democratic reversal in the election, however, was a set-back to Thurman's ambition. The National party reached its high water mark in casting 38,000 votes for its leading candidate. A new Democratic organ, established in Columbus, thenceforth attempted to rekindle enthusiasm for an enfeebled candidacy. The next year Thurman refused to risk his political dignity as a candidate for governor. His influence was thrown to Americus Rice, a crippled soldier who was "not obnoxious to hard money men." The strength of the Bishop delegation, however, compelled him to accept the nomination of Ewing, who was still fighting that "hellish measure," the Resumption Act.

⁶ *Ohio Statesman*, August 13, 1878. Many other papers published the speech.

⁷ *Dayton Journal*, August 16, 1878.

⁸ *Cleveland Leader*, October 16, 1878. Thurman's program did not, however, differ essentially from that of Sherman's.

The Republicans, as had the Democrats, hoped for some element of unity as the critical campaign of 1879 approached. The air had been cloudy indeed in 1877 and in 1878 when Republicans had been so determined to read Hayes and his program out of the party. In the convention of 1878 the demand of the Stalwarts became emphatic. General John Beatty, out of regard for his former abolitionist proclivities, essayed to direct the insurrection from the floor. He was unsparing in his invective against a President who had turned disgrace upon Republicans of the South, "who went through hell-fire to put Rutherford B. Hayes in the executive chair." His civil service was declared a sham and the veto of the silver bill an effort to destroy "the only measure that made resumption possible."⁹ But the ranks were not converted to drastic action. Shrewd leaders were hoping for the success of resumption and a return of economic stability as a "pillar of fire" to fellow partisans who had lost their bearings in troublous times. The party resolved to oppose further agitation of the financial question as "injurious to business," and to satirize the Democratic legislation — "O'Connor legislation"¹⁰ — relative to providing public works for the employment of labor. The nominee for governor in 1879 promised an efficiency in campaign methods hitherto unapproached in Ohio politics.

The Republican who essayed to retrieve the governorship and establish state hegemony in national affairs was Charles Foster. His advancement on the

⁹ *Ohio Statesman*, June 13, 1878.

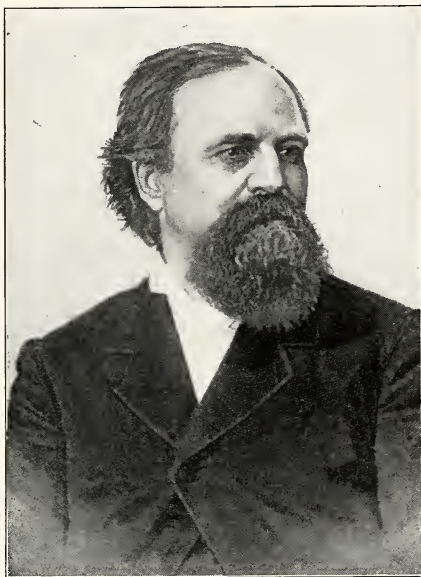
¹⁰ So called from the name of a reputed bounty jumper who had become a member of the legislature.

ticket came as the result of a type of political effort that was thenceforth a more pronounced feature of the state's politics. His political record before nomination was an exposition on "efficiency and organization" in the attainment of political results.

Foster was born in Seneca County in the northwestern part of the state. With his father he became a great promoter in the material development of that section. Fostoria had been founded by and named in honor of the father. The son became the controlling agent of the town's merchandizing and banking interests. His influence encouraged factories and led railroads to build lines through the city for which he entertained great ambitions. A generous nature and affable manner made him a popular idol. He carried successful business methods into politics and became a recognized power in the state. By a thorough canvass in 1870, he had transferred a Democratic stronghold into a Republican district and gone to Congress. In 1872, he had been able to override a Liberal-Democratic combination in his district, as he also had the Democratic landslide of 1874. In 1876, he secured reelection by running ahead of his ticket 271 votes. The Democrats gerrymandered his district by an insurmountable margin in 1878. In all but the last of these campaigns success was attained by most thorough organization. Paid workers dispensed liberal sums. Critical districts were located by pre-election polls and prompt attention given to making them safe.

Foster's influence was demonstrated in other ways than those connected with his individual fortunes. His instinct as to the expediency of political measures se-

cured him an influence in the House: he was as intimate with Democrats as with fellow partisans. In the disputed election of 1876, he and Matthews were leading influences in the decision of "long-headed men" of



CHARLES FOSTER

Representative in Congress, March 4, 1871-March 3, 1879; Governor of Ohio, January 12, 1880-January 14, 1884; Secretary of Treasury of the United States, February 25, 1891-March 3, 1893.

the South that the Hayes candidacy offered them the better terms of political security. He was aided by Matthews also in 1877 in flanking an attempt of Taft to become a candidate for governor — a program that

would have blocked Matthews' ambition to return to the Senate.¹¹ The strategy of 1877 was applied with exceptional efficiency in 1879: Taft was again out-flanked even in his own stronghold, (Cincinnati) and Foster himself claimed the nomination.¹²

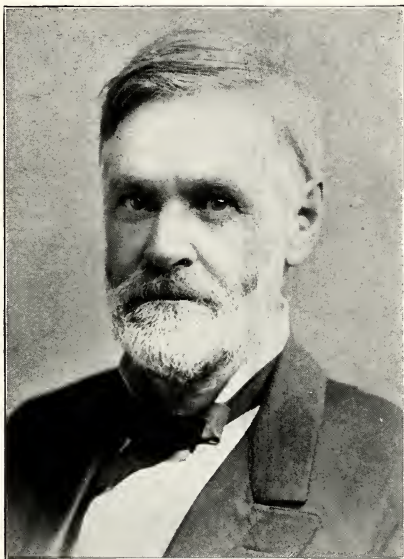
The election of 1879 became memorable. Foster was liberal in the use of his purse in promoting the campaign. A special train was employed in order that every critical district might be canvassed. The Democrats attempted to hold up the Republican candidate to ridicule in reference to his merchandising business and jeeringly attached the epithet "Calico Charlie." Women of Republican sympathies replied by donning calico dresses. As frequently happens in such cases the popularity of the candidate was promoted. Efficiency at any rate prevailed. Foster carried the state and humiliated the most popular if not the ablest national credit advocate of the opposition — a task that Sherman had held below his political dignity. By this blow, Foster assured himself a place of influence in national party councils. And there was evident need of capitalizing just such energy and resourcefulness in staving off disaster in the impending Presidential campaign.

After four troublous years, consumed primarily in wrangling over the financial issue and characterized by

¹¹Political expediency demanded that the gubernatorial and senatorial candidates be not taken from the same sections of the state. Taft and Matthews were both from Cincinnati. This canon of expediency was observed with comparative regularity in Ohio politics. Taft was also considered as "committed to a contest with Matthews for the Senate through an election as governor." W. C. McFarland to Sherman, *Sherman MSS.*, August 4, 1877. Also press reports.

¹²Myers, *Bosses and Boodle*, pp. 143-153, describes shameful manipulations connected with the Convention.

temporizing that did not promise well for the political future of many of the participants, the leadership of both parties evinced greater anxiety to declare the issue closed. Contests in Congress connected with the fraud



JOHN SHERMAN

Representative in Congress, March 4, 1855-March 3, 1861; United States Senator, March 21, 1861-March 8, 1877; Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, March 8, 1877-March 3, 1881; United States Senator, March 4, 1881-March 4, 1897; Secretary of State of the United States, March 5, 1897-April 25, 1898.

issue, the cipher dispatches, the army bill and the elective franchise in the South afforded a much safer basis on which to muster forces for the impending battle. Each party turned to squaring the political mind to its

own ends; Democrats courted sympathy for a great injury in 1876; Republicans found, in the trumped up issues, color for their cause of "national supremacy in national affairs." The growth of the Greenback party in the face of financial agitation threatened insecurity to the traditional appeal of both parties.

From visible evidence the political redemption of Ohio was to become an asset in advancing Sherman's candidacy for the Presidency. The abundant agricultural harvests of 1878 and 1879, which a distressed Europe was eager to command, enabled the farmer again to enter the market for the products of industry. Unemployment was relieved, and the laborer became less willing to listen to "addle-brained lunatics who were endeavoring to ruin the credit of the nation." Sherman had exhibited the dexterity of a shrewd business man in securing a favorable sale of bonds and a coin reserve with which to secure the greenback circulation.¹³ The triumph of resumption at the moment that business activity became manifest formed conclusive evidence to Sherman's mind of "patient courage and unswerving conviction" of the Republican party.¹⁴ He felt therefore that his financial wisdom had been justified and his claim upon his party for its highest reward fully vindicated.

With the fixed purpose of promoting his candidacy, Sherman lost no opportunity to encourage every favorable prospect. "What I would aspire to," he declared in a letter which soon reached print and excited criti-

¹³ Sherman deserves credit for being able to dictate for the first time since 1860 the terms of the government's credit.

¹⁴Sherman's *Memoirs*, II, 743.

cism, "in case public opinion should decide to make me a candidate for President, would be to unite in co-operation with the Republican party all the national elements of the country that contributed to or aided in any way in the successful vindication of national authority during the war. I would do this, not for the purpose of irritating the South or oppressing them in any way, but to assert and maintain the supremacy of national authority to the full extent of all the powers conferred by the constitution. This, as I understand it, is the Jacksonian as well as the Republican view of national powers. . . ." ¹⁵ These terms of ambiguity may be better understood in relation to the type of political career that had elevated Sherman to political eminence. Moreover, it forms an illuminating commentary on a career that was molded by the forces that dominated a sort of political "No man's land."

When the slavery issue was disrupting party lines in the decade of the 'fifties, Sherman's candidacy, in view of no particular identity with the great problem that threatened to disrupt the union, had united disaffected factions in advancing him to Congress. Thenceforth he trailed rather than advanced with his party to the extreme stand it ultimately occupied in defiance of the South. When the impeachment of President Johnson demoralized political lines, Sherman as Senator drifted without reference to consistency in attitude toward the Tenure of Office act.¹⁶ He embraced the greenback issue in 1868 to the extent of declaring for the payment of bonds in certificates then afloat.

¹⁵Sherman *op. cit.*, II, 730.

¹⁶Oberholtzer, *Hist. of U. S.*, II, 129-130.

Following the election of 1868, his convictions did not stand in the way of retrieving his political position somewhat through introducing an act to strengthen the public credit, pledging the United States to payment "in coin or its equivalent," of notes and interest-bearing obligations, "except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligations has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver." The removal of the discrepancy between the circulating value of coin and greenbacks formed Sherman's real hope of escaping the dilemma. During the great controversy of 1877, he was willing to compromise by removing all discrimination in favor of the bondholder, preventing him any longer from being a "privileged person" by a treasury sale of bonds for "currency at par with gold."¹⁷ His declaration that the existence of the national banks was a question of "policy" and not of "principle," the right conferred upon them to issue circulation "not for their profit but for the public convenience," indicated how readily he could quibble over the issue when expediency demanded it. As to silver, he declared the difference among Republicans would be settled "by the use of the silver dollar to the extent that it can be kept in circulation at par with greenbacks," and as a "pure question of detail."¹⁸

Sherman believed in the rule of political parties. The period offered its challenge to robust statesmanship; but temperamentally, Sherman was not explosive nor was he gifted with that rare quality of firing men's

¹⁷ Sherman's *Recoll.*, I, 594.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 594.

imaginations with phrases which they could not forget. In later life he declared himself in essential accord with the ideal of governmental control of credit and adverse to the banking system.¹⁹ His services, in compromising the issue, were similar to those of Clay when slavery threatened the union.

As Sherman approached the political crisis of his career in 1880, he was without particular political preferment at the hands of either of the sets of conflicting interests he had striven for fifteen years to compromise. He was well aware of the necessity of being acceptable to "monied men" of Wall Street; he appreciated likewise the importance of a recognition of his personality and adaptability to the popular cause. Interests peculiar to party promoters he knew must be met, and reasonably satisfied in case they committed the fortunes of party in making him President. In all respects, however, Sherman found himself facing a dilemma. He was without that personal magnetism which made Clay, Blaine and Roosevelt practically inevitable candidates of their day: there was nothing stimulating or romantic in his career that transcended his record in office.²⁰

The more Sherman called attention to his past record as an endorsement of his qualifications for the Presidency, the more skeptical all interests became. His text was the Resumption Act and the return of prosperity. A great banker had assured him that the suc-

¹⁹ Cf. Sherman's *Recoll.*, II, pp. 755 ff.

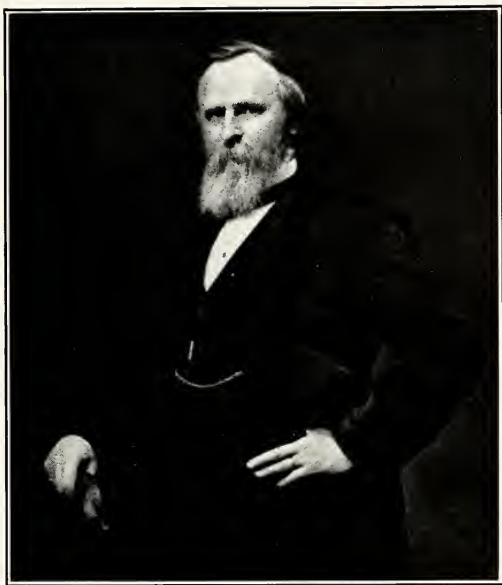
²⁰ Cf. Hoar, *op. cit.*, I, p. 394: "There was nothing stimulating or romantic in the plain wisdom of John Sherman. It was like reading a passage from 'Poor Richard's Almanac' after one of the lofty chapters of the Psalms of David."

cess of that measure would do more "to strengthen and retain the ascendancy of the Republican party than any and all other reasons."²¹ Sherman's speeches in 1879 assured those men who thought that the control of American finances should center at Washington instead of Wall Street that they had secured all they had been asking. "We have crowned them (the treasury certificates) with honor. They are no longer depreciated, but they travel the circuit of the world equal to the best coin ever issued from the mint."

But the very elements which Sherman most assiduously attempted to placate resented his overtures most. The height of the greenback movement in 1878 had identified the Treasury Secretary's name with the program of the "money sharks." In Toledo, the center of the Independent party movement, he had been all but driven from the stage when attempting to defend the policy which had "given gold to the bondholder and burned up the poor man's money." Eastern interests were provoked to the point of ridiculing the Secretary for suggesting for a moment that the certificates were to be kept in circulation.²² New York banking interests

²¹Jay Gould to Sherman, *Sherman MSS.*, October 17, 1878.

²²Regarding Sherman's Portland (Maine) speech of July, 1879, the *New York Evening Post* declared: "These may serve to catch the votes of the Greenbackers but they are not the words we ought to hear from the chief financial officer of the government. Mr. Sherman knows or should know, that there is absolutely no safety so long as a single greenback remains in existence. He knows or should know, that so far as the relations of the government to its promissory notes are concerned, redemption means payment, cancellation, destruction. It does not mean the exchange of gold for the greenback, the payment of the promissory note, and its immediate reissue as a new promissory note. Does Mr. Sherman believe that the Treasury should be a bank of issue for all time to come? If he does, he is yet far from sound on the financial



RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES

Major in the Union Army, June 27—October 24, 1861; Lieutenant Colonel, October 24, 1861—October 24, 1862; Colonel, October 24, 1862—October 19, 1864; Brigadier General, October 19, 1864—March 15, 1865; brevetted Major General, March 15—June 8, 1865; Representative in Congress, March 4, 1865—December, 1867; Governor of Ohio, January 13, 1868—January 8, 1872, January 10, 1876—March 2, 1877; elected President of the United States in 1876, inaugurated March 4, 1877, and served until March 3, 1881.

were apathetic.²³ Nor was his candidacy promising from the standpoint of powerful party interests. Hayes' civil service program had led to a stroke at political jobbery in the New York Custom House. Chester A. Arthur, one of Conkling's place men, had been dismissed, and Sherman, as Secretary of the Treasury, shared with Hayes the wrath of the New York Senator. And yet Sherman came to the assistance of Arthur in the election of 1879, despite his later assertion that the latter had been dismissed solely because he was unfit for the position. Independents, concerned with civil service reform, were reticent. They were convinced that Sherman's administration of the Treasury did not promise well for their program. Schurz and others of the group debated the candidacy only in terms of its expediency in defeating the nomination of Grant.²⁴

The atmosphere even in Sherman's native state was

question. If he does not believe so, the words are disingenuous. As to silver, while Mr. Sherman shows distinctly why there should not be free coinage now, at eighty-five cents to the dollar, he trifles with the question and seems to hold out a promise that we may have it presently. The Secretary of the Treasury sees clearly the folly and danger of free coinage, but the politician throws something very like a silver tub to the whale." *New York Evening Post*, July 24, 1879.

²³ W. L. Strong sent a check for \$1,000 to Sherman, "to use as he sees fit," and apologized for the apathy of banking interests: "I regret that we cannot get up more interest among the bankers and moneyed men of N. Y., but while they all seem to be friendly to you they do not feel like putting up money until after the nomination. Then they will all come in." *Sherman MSS.*, May 4, 1880.

April 16, 1880, Sherman wrote to John P. Kumler of Toledo: "I wish above all things to carry Lucas County. You need spare no efforts or expense. Talk to Locke and tell him to aid and he will never regret it." *Sherman MSS.*, April 16, 1880.

²⁴ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, III, p. 394.

clouded with uncertainty as Republicans professed their program for the future. In April, 1880, however, Sherman was duly endorsed as his party's favorite son. Charles Foster, who had been inaugurated as Governor in January, and Garfield, who had at the same time been elected to succeed Thurman in the Senate, were two of the delegates whom Sherman selected to promote his cause as delegates at large. Long before the National Convention had met, newspapers had become free in their gossip relative to the latter's predilections for Grant or Blaine.²⁵ By a stroke designed as political strategy, Sherman named Garfield as the spokesman for his candidacy before the Convention.

The Republican National Convention met in Chicago, June 2. Conkling and Cameron were confident of securing Grant's nomination and were anxious to secure a safeguard against a "bolt" in consequence.²⁶

²⁵ E. g. the *Cincinnati Commercial*, March 31, 1880, or *Cleveland Leader*, February 7, 1880.

²⁶ The following letter illustrates the attitude of a prominent political adviser toward the nomination of Grant: "I cannot think Grant will be nominated, and yet, money, money, any amount of money.

"I am prepared for the worst. Grant would be beaten in nearly every state. The triumvirate has made the people frantic. Should they now switch from Grant and nominate Edmunds, the Democrats would still have an immense advantage. Fully one-half the Republicans of this state are in open revolt. Edmunds against such a man as Jewett would be beaten 50,000 and no help for it. Anything hence but the machine in any form. Sherman would walk over the course in New York. Blaine would, I am quite sure, carry the state. Tilden would beat Grant 50,000. Jewett would lead him 150,000. Any machine man, or anybody nominated by the machine is gone. . . . Should *you*, in event some dark horse nominated by machine votes, conclude to give support to the candidate, most of the independents of this state could be brought in. Blaine and yourself would, however, completely command the situation in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, etc., and could turn the 'horse' black or white at will.

Against him were the "allies" — the Blaine, Sherman and Edmunds forces, bound by the common purpose of "anything to beat Grant."²⁷ Sherman's hopes of securing the nomination rested upon a favorable break in the impending deadlock.²⁸ He had less than one hundred pledged delegates, and they were recruited primarily from southern states that could not have delivered an electoral vote for any nominee. They formed a "Swiss Guard," which political managers knew could never be remobilized once their line was broken.

Organization maneuvers resulted in Conkling's first serious defeat. The unit rule was broken, and in consequence sixty delegates were released from the "immortal 306." At the same time a serious lack of solidarity in the Ohio delegation was disclosed. Preliminary arrangements had not gone far, before it became noticeable that Garfield was attracting a marked

"I have conferred fully with Governor Fenton. We shall no longer train under Conkling, Cornell, Cameron and Logan personally or by proxy. Any candidate who carries their flag, will be buried out of sight. I know what I am writing about, and you can depend on what I say. We shall not act rashly but deliberately, desperately, if need be." A. N. Cole (writing from Belmont, Allegany Co., New York) to Sherman, June 3, 1880. *Sherman MSS.*

²⁷ The Cincinnati *Commercial*, May 31, 1880, covered its first page with the names of men who would not vote for Grant in case he were nominated.

²⁸ In hopes of securing the ultimate support of the Grant and Blaine forces, Sherman naturally evaded the point of arousing antagonism on either side. April 19, 1880, he wrote William Henry Smith: ". . . Your conversation with Logan was a very interesting one, but the best thing to say to him is that, while I have the warmest personal feeling for Gen. Grant, I still think his nomination would be fatal to us in the election, and therefore, I ought not to take any position as between him and Blaine." *Sherman MSS.*

attention from the galleries and delegates.²⁹ The Convention had not long been in session before Sherman was being advised repeatedly that a design other than that connected with securing his nomination was on foot: if Blaine should be nominated Foster was hopeful for second place; if Garfield should be nominated Foster could still hope to succeed him in the Senate.³⁰ Sherman in Washington received contradictory reports as to subsequent transactions.³¹ Delegates of their own initiative warned him of untoward developments. Many declared both Foster and Garfield guilty of "treachery," "sickly support" and "selfish ambitions":³² Garfield in

²⁹A despatch to the New York *Herald* declared Garfield's name a possible choice in case it became necessary for Sherman to withdraw: "Mr. Garfield will present the name of Mr. Sherman, and his speech and manner, it is thought, will make a very favorable impression on the convention. The applause which greeted the name today when it was announced that he had been selected by the Ohio delegation to serve in the Committee on Rules was a marked compliment to him, which has not been forgotten to-night in the calculations of the thoughtful men." McCabe, *The Life of James A. Garfield*, p. 422-423.

Beyond a reasonable doubt Sherman was aware of the instability of the Ohio delegation many weeks in advance of the Convention. May 1, 1880, W. D. Bickham advised: ". . . You will see everything goes right now but your friends may do much to make Ohio solid for you by personal attention to the five or six who are sentimentally against you in the delegation."

On the second day of the Convention, B. D. Fearing wrote: "Garfield and Foster are the only weak points in our line. Our friends say if they are true, you will win. If they are not, I promise you the young Republicans will revenge their treachery." *Sherman MSS.*

³¹A mass of telegrams among the Sherman papers furnish many interesting commentaries on the convention procedure. The opposition to Sherman was furthered by a check, purported to have been written by Sherman, in the hands of a negro delegate by the name of Smith. A telegram informed Sherman that Smith professed that he had had his pockets picked, "which I seriously doubt." *Sherman MSS.* June 2, 1880.

³²A telegram marked private and dated June 6, was forwarded by W. P. Nixon: "My information is that Foster is conspiring with others

to bring Garfield out as a candidate and transfer your forces to him. I think Garfield has full knowledge of the fact. This is only for your information and does not require answer. This is sent without the knowledge of others and is my act only."

A political convention, especially if the contest of candidates is long drawn out, becomes a scene of nervous tension interspersed with occasional outbursts of excitement. Suspicions are rife and charges of bad faith are often recklessly made. The looming up of a "dark horse" in the early stages of his advance, however it is regarded by the world outside, is an occasion for disappointment and resentment of delegates where the chances of their favorites begin to wane. All this was exemplified in the Republican National Convention of 1880.

As ballot after ballot was announced without a choice and intimations became more frequent that Garfield was the candidate upon whom the opposition to Grant would ultimately unite, it was but natural that the delegates from Sherman's state, who had labored long and arduously for him, should raise questions in regard to the loyalty of Garfield and Foster. If the former should be nominated it was pointed out that Foster could still hope to succeed him in the Senate. Sherman, in Washington, received contradictory reports in regard to the attitude of the Ohio delegation. He was warned that he was the victim of the "selfish ambitions" of men who had been chosen to support him faithfully to the last. Garfield and Foster were the chief objects of suspicion. Governor William Dennison, however, advised Sherman that Garfield's conduct from the beginning had been "frank and manly," and years afterward when the passions incident to the contest had subsided, Senator George F. Hoar, in his Autobiography paid high tribute to the attitude of Garfield.

In his Autobiography, I, pp. 397 and 400, Senator George F. Hoar, after quoting from the proceedings of the Convention, left the following record with reference to the remonstrance of Garfield:

"This verbatim report is absolutely correct, except that where there is a period at the end of Mr. Garfield's last sentence there should be a dash, indicating that the sentence was not finished. I recollect the incident perfectly. I interrupted him in the middle of his sentence. I was terribly afraid that he would say something that would make his nomination impossible, or his acceptance impossible, if it were made. I do not believe it ever happened before that anybody who attempted to decline the Presidency of the United States was to be prevented by a point of order, or that such a thing will ever happen again."

In tribute to the sterling qualities of Garfield, Senator Hoar added:

*"He stood like a rock when Ohio and the whole West seemed going against him, and when the statesmanship even of John Sherman was of the willow and not of the oak. * * * Next to the assassination of Lincoln his death was the greatest national misfortune ever caused to this country by the loss of a single life."—EDITOR.*

his nominating speech "must have intended not to help you nor hurt himself. He cherishes the hope that he may be the coming man and your nomination would close him out now and hereafter." Another declared: "If defeated thank the ambition of Garfield, the defection of Foster, the cowardice of Bateman and the imbecility of the Ohio delegation." A few were inclined to exonerate Garfield. William Dennison advised that Garfield's conduct from the beginning had been "frank and manly."

The first ballot of the Convention registered nine Ohio delegates for Blaine. They "not only disregarded the request of the State Convention but opposed Sherman in the interest of Blaine."³³ This action subsequently precluded all hope of marshalling Sherman's Ohio forces behind Blaine: since the nine would not go to the thirty-five it was hardly to be expected that the thirty-five would go to the nine. On the thirty-fifth ballot the landslide to Garfield began.³⁴

After the bitterness and struggle of a national convention, the conduct or attitude of defeated factions is always of extreme importance. Sherman was not, of course, inclined to embarrass party fortunes by serious

³³ C. S. Dyer to Wm. Dennison, June 6, 1880. *Sherman MSS.*

³⁴ *At this point in the proceedings Garfield rose to a point of order and remonstrated as follows:*

"I challenge the correctness of the announcement. The announcement contains votes for me. No man has a right, without the consent of the person voted for, to announce that person's name, and vote for him in this convention. Such consent I have not given."

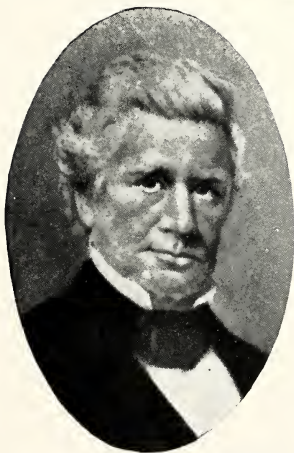
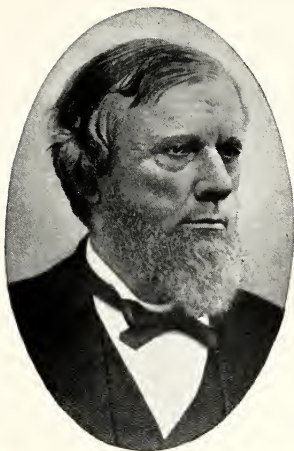
The president of the convention declared that Garfield had not stated a question of order and the balloting proceeded. On the thirty-sixth ballot Garfield secured a total of 399 votes, and was declared the nominee.—
EDITOR.

threats of defection.³⁵ Quite the reverse, he was among the very first to congratulate the nominee who had

³⁵The observations of Warner M. Bateman, Sherman's financial manager at the Convention, form an interesting commentary on the convention procedure: "At last it was apparent that the Blaine forces were the ones we could draw from only. They would not yield to us. We spent—Dennison, Garfield, Butterworth and I—Monday night until 3 o'clock trying to prevail upon Hamlin, Frye and Hale to come over to you, but it ended where it began in the conclusion of both to go on in the morning.

.....I want to say here that after much reflection and a close watch of Garfield from the beginning I am satisfied he was not a party to it.

. . . . During the progress of the last ballot, in much apparent emotion, he came to me to enquire what it meant. He protested in the utmost earnestness that he had nothing to do with the movement, and asked me whether I thought he had. He said he would rather be shot to death by the inch than than to have furnished any just ground for such suspicion, and desired if I could that I should vindicate him against any charge of unfaithfulness to you. I told him, as I have told you, that I did not believe him guilty and told him that I should say so to you. You can tell him I have said so, if you find suitable opportunity. But of Foster I cannot speak so favorably. I do not think he gave you an hour of honest service the whole time he was in Chicago. This is strong but what everybody believed. At the outset he sought companionship with Hale and Frye and gave an encouraging ear to the talk of his being a candidate for Vice-Presidency with Blaine. I did not get a five-minute interview with him during the whole two weeks we were together. He treated me with the most constant evasion as he did also Gov. Dennison. Upon a failure of an arrangement to transfer your strength to Blaine, which he advised on Monday night, the vision of the Vice-Presidency disappeared. He and Nichol I think, then agreed upon an experiment in favor of Garfield, beginning with the Wisconsin delegation, which was very unsettled, and among whom Nichol had a great deal of influence. This was followed by Harrison. This scheme opened to Foster the vision of the Senate. I believe him a cold-blooded and thoroughly selfish man, rich and entirely prodigal of the use of his money for his own ends. I trust if Garfield is successful that you will disappoint him as to succeeding G. in the Senate. . . . As to Arthur's nomination I agree with you that it was ill-advised. So far as the Ohio delegation was concerned, their vote was the result of Dennison's haste in pledging Conkling that Ohio would follow him on the Vice-Presidency. Our Massachusetts friends remonstrated and at first D. could not get many votes in our delegation to support him, but the anti-



ALLEN G. THURMAN
WILLIAM ALLEN GEORGE H. PENDLETON

Conkling men in New York yielding, most of our men gave way. It was a mistake. . . .

Enclosed I send you two drafts drawn by the Merchants' Loan and Trust Co., Chicago, upon the National Bank of Commerce of New York dated the 10th inst., one for \$800.00 payable to my order which I endorse payable to you and the other for \$1,700.00 payable to your order making a total of \$2,500.00.

As soon as the nomination was made, I notified Nichol that Garfield's friends must assume your obligations. It was already agreed upon by Foster and Everett to do so to amount of \$1,500. They at once paid the cost of our headquarters which amount to about \$1,200. There were about \$1,600 of liabilities for the expense of delegations, etc., etc. They assumed most of this. I had paid \$800 of this which they refunded to me and it is included in the \$800 draft which I enclose. I was compelled to hand over management of money affairs to Nichol. He handed back what he had not expended, and I am able in these two drafts to refund the \$2,500 draft No. 2 you sent me at Chicago. I did not use any of the \$10,000 privilege you gave me on Tuesday. I have still a balance of the first \$2,500, a small one—which I will ascertain as soon as I can and forward to you.

[These two communications are the impressions of the active supporters of Sherman immediately following the convention, when the feelings aroused by the contest had not wholly subsided. The sums of money which Senator Sherman's manager was authorized to expend in his behalf look very small compared with the amounts used in the interest of presidential aspirants in succeeding years. The "reforms," including the popular primary do not seem to have diminished the "legitimate" expenditure in the interests of presidential candidates.—EDITOR.]

Now as to your friends. You had some as true as ever. . . . Cassidy, Hill, Buck Warner, Butterworth, Smith of Florida, DeMortie and Norton of Virginia, Harris and Gary, Sanderson of Milwaukee, Amos Smith, Holland, Mulloy, Daggett, Dumont, etc., etc. Woltz disgracefully betrayed you. He is a treacherous dog. After he had sold out to Grant for a consideration, he went to Nichol and by lying to him got \$250. Under pretext of supporting your delegates in his charge he voted them all against you. Brady worked actively against you for Grant; Russell and Bowdin most of their time for you. Darnell left you at last for Grant just in time to turn pale at the nomination of Garfield. . . ." *Sherman MSS.*, June 12, 1880.

Benjamin Butterworth contributed his "confidential" version on June 11: One great need was a competent major-general; the delegates worked at cross-purposes. "Belcher of Virginia sold out and delivered his men to Grant." South Carolina did the same. Dennison didn't know each minute what was going on. "Blaine could have sent a telegram that would have electrified the convention." *Sherman MSS.*

"saved the Republican party and the country from a great peril and assured the continued success of Republican principles."³⁶ He wrote numerous letters declaring that he would support Garfield and that he relieved him from all "suspicion of perfidy." To a prominent newspaper editor he declared that he was glad that Garfield "did not commit any act or do anything that could imply bad faith on his part."³⁷ As to Governor Foster, however, the charge had given him more "real pain than all others combined." His chief errors had been those of generosity.³⁸ He regretted that he had "assisted Cameron in being made Chairman of the National Committee." Also he "should not have designated either Foster or Garfield as delegates at large." "The errors," he added, "contributed to my defeat."³⁹ On June 30, however, Sherman wrote Foster an extended letter in which, after reciting many of the latter's misdeeds, he agreed to treat him "as of old, with hearty good-will and respect," with assurances that he would give no further credence to the stories he heard.⁴⁰

³⁶ June 8, 1880. McCabe, *Garfield*, p. 487.

³⁷ Sherman to Richard Smith, June 14, 1880. *Sherman MSS.*

³⁸ Sherman to W. D. Bickham, June 17, 1880. *Sherman MSS.*

³⁹ Sherman to Smith, June 14, 1880. *Sherman MSS.*

⁴⁰ Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, pp. 776-778.

Sherman's reaction to Arthur's nomination was expressed in a letter to James M. Hoyt: "As for Arthur, I suppose he is connected with the ticket and we must vote for him, although it is rather a scandalous proceeding. The only reason for his nomination was that he was discharged from an office that he was unfit to fill." *Sherman MSS.*, June 12, 1880.

Garfield had points of weakness as well as strength as a "dark horse" candidate. He had served in Congress continuously for sixteen years as a Representative of a Connecticut Reserve constituency. During that time he had not kept his name clear of those questionable practices by which men in public life had too commonly pursued their personal interests. His explanation of a connection with the Credit Mobilier, Salary Grab and De Golyer scandals had never been such as to inspire confidence.⁴¹ Continuous contact with political life served him much as it had Sherman. His attitude to-

⁴¹Cf. Oberholzer, *History of the U. S.*, II, pp. 605-607.

Hayes' *Diary* (February 21, 1883) contains the following estimate: "I have just read President Hinsdale's account of Garfield as a student and teacher. Here was his strength. In both capacities he was a model. He had large faculties, memory, analysis, fluency, the debating faculty. He was the best popular debater of his time. He was not executive in his talents, not original, not firm—not a moral force. He leaned on others—could not face a frowning world; his habits suffered from Washington life. His course at various times, when trouble came, betrayed weakness. The *Credit Mobilier* affair, the De Golyer business, his letter of acceptance, and many times his vacillation when leading the House, place him in another list from Lincoln, Clay, Sumner and the other heroes of our civil history."

For a more tolerant estimate of Garfield see Hoar, *Autobiography*, I, pp. 399-404.

In charging Garfield with corrupt intent in his contact with the Credit Mobilier his political enemies over-reached themselves. They had made, as the chief basis of their attack, the charge that he had accepted a bribe of \$329.00. Somewhat early in the campaign, after Garfield's nomination, by preconcerted arrangement, "\$329.00" was written in chalk on the pavements of many of the cities of Ohio, on the doorsteps and buildings of prominent Republicans, and tallow was used to mark the same figures on the windows of many business concerns. This aroused the ire of many of his supporters, who up to that time had taken but indifferent interest in the campaign. They began the organization of Republican clubs with 329 members, carried banners inscribed with these figures and made frequent allusions to the charge in their public speeches. One popular campaigner advised the Democrats "to abandon the rooster as a party emblem, to substitute an old hen and set her on 329 eggs just to see her spread herself."

ward the financial issue of 1876 was indicative of this tendency. He inquired of Hayes as to the "drift of sentiment among our friends in Ohio," and while declaring his opinion "that an appeal to what is true and honest is always safest," insisted that "still we want to put the issue in the best shape."⁴² Once a policy was fixed upon, few men of the day could advocate it more effectively.

While partisan advocates were soon to find that Garfield's record was to demand defensive tactics as well as representations that turned him "black or white" as expediency demanded, there were, on the other hand, positive points of availability. On the whole, he had been perhaps the most consistent opponent of government inflation, of the Ohio Congressional delegation; he alone, of the representatives of his state, had voted in opposition to certain features of legislation designed to expand the government's credit issue. During the period of party disruption of the later seventies he had maintained an acceptable relationship with all factions. He was one of Blaine's closest companions; in 1879 he had paraded himself before the Ohio convention as a converted liberal, as good a Stalwart "as could be

The rank and file of his party seemed to swing into hearty agreement with his own statement in his published defense: "If there be a citizen of the United States who is willing to believe that for \$329. I have bartered away my good name, and to falsehood have added perjury, these pages are not addressed to him."

They could not believe that, for such a sum of money, he had sold himself to an ignoble cause.—EDITOR.

⁴² Williams, *Hayes*, I. p. 428. Taussig, *History of the Tariff*, p. 178, gives another example of Garfield's tendency toward expediency; in support of the tariff of 1867 he appealed to his party to vote so as to make up the two-thirds majority necessary for its consideration, declaring that later they might make up their record by voting against it.

found anywhere.”⁴³ And he had become Sherman’s spokesman in 1880. Immediately preceding the National Convention no one had vindicated a more acceptable attitude from the standpoint of financial interests. From January to April during the campaign year, representatives of the National party labored incessantly and against the intentions of dominant groups of both major parties to bring their resolutions bearing upon their favored issue before the House. On April 5, Weaver of Iowa was successful. His resolutions declared for the issuance and control of the volume of all currency, whether metallic or paper, “by the government and not by or through the bank corporations of the country * * *” and against the refunding of “that portion of the interest-bearing debt of the United States which shall become redeemable in the year 1881, or prior thereto * * * beyond the power of the government to call in said obligations and pay them at any time, but should be paid as rapidly as possible and according to contract.”⁴⁴ Garfield led the assault for the opposition: “* * * never was there a measure offered to Congress of so vast and far-reaching centralism. It would convert the Treasury of the United States into a manufactory of paper money. It makes the House of Representatives and the Senate, or the caucus of the party which happens to be in the majority, the absolute dictator of the financial and business affairs of this country. This scheme sur-

⁴³*Nation*, June 5, 1879.

⁴⁴To enable the government to meet these obligations, the mints of the United States should be “operated to their full capacity in the coinage of standard silver dollars, and such other coinage as the business interests of the country may require.”

passes all the centralism and all the Caesarism that were ever charged upon the Republican party in the wildest days of the war or in the events growing out of the war * * *."

"* * * The government should prescribe general laws in reference to the quality and character of our paper money, but should never become the direct manufacturer and issuer of it."⁴⁵ Nothing in Sherman's record had ever approached these assurances.

Garfield's nomination was nevertheless a source of inspiration to the Ohio Democracy. The Republican candidate's popular strength had never been tested before the people of the state for any office. There was a general impression that his nomination had been secured through treason to party instruction and false betrayal of his state. Thurman regarded his own candidacy as the logical one by which to swing Ohio to the Democratic column. In 1879, the "National Side Show" had been largely absorbed through holding the two state conventions at the same time, selecting a candidate acceptable to the "Wicked Seven" and adopting an anti-resumption platform.⁴⁶ Thomas Ewing had exacted for the party the second highest popular vote in the history of the state but was unable to match the efficient methods of Foster. His defeat advanced the influence of old party leaders, insistent upon fighting it out "along old lines." Thurman was unanimously endorsed by his state convention in 1880 as the first choice of his party

⁴⁵*Cong. Rec.*, 46th Congress, 2nd Sess., p. 2140.

⁴⁶The Greenback leaders; Sherwood of the Toledo *Commercial*, Cary, Sturgeon, Odell, Linton, Johnson and Throckmorton. Cleveland *Leader* August 30, 1879.

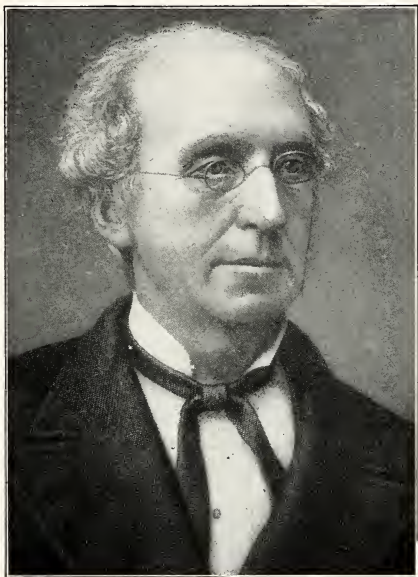
for the presidency. By previous agreement, no platform declarations were made—a safeguard against a “double-decked platform like that of 1876.”⁴⁷

But at the very instant that the Ohio Democracy was professing its purpose of promoting Thurman to the presidency, methods, just as patent as those which had prevented the nomination of Sherman, were all but openly employed. The uncertainty of the Tilden candidacy gave rise to two lines of political maneuvering. One was designed to test the availability of the New York candidate as a result of the “Fraud of 1876” and the Matthews’ investigations. The other centered upon the selection of a candidate capable of honoring Tilden’s mantle in case it became evident that he should not retain it. Even before the launching of Thurman’s “favorite son” candidacy, certain Ohio Democrats were bargaining in advance as to the terms which New York managers might be willing to consider. As the pledge was being secured to promote Thurman’s candidacy “by all honorable means,” party workers were busily representing a popular demand for two other aspirants. These men were Hugh J. Jewett, until 1874 a resident of Columbus, and Henry B. Payne of Cleveland.

Of the two candidacies, that of Jewett was by far the weaker. He was a corporation lawyer and had gained renown in connection with railroad bankruptcy cases. A few years earlier he had removed to New York City in order to accept the receivership of the Erie

⁴⁷“Who does not remember the ludicrous spectacle of about 10,000 Democrats with linen dusters on their persons, the pockets filled with *Enquirers*, invading New York, and demanding the nomination of George H. Pendleton on the issue that bonds should be paid in greenbacks only.” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 16, 1880.

Railroad. He had been the defeated candidate for governor in 1861 and had since that time been inconspicuous in politics. But in 1880 the *Plain Dealer* conducted a publicity campaign in his behalf, while David R.



HENRY B. PAYNE

Representative in Congress from Ohio, March 4, 1875-March 3, 1877;
United States Senator, March 4, 1885-March 13, 1891

Paige, later to gain unenviable notoriety, undertook to lay the wires. The candidate's connection with railroad affairs did not comport well with popular interests. He was "too cold, like John Sherman." Moreover it was the Payne "boom" that was more seriously

at work. It bore a direct connection with the manipulation of the New York machine and was directly converting Thurman's endorsement into a mockery.

Payne was a Democrat of New York and Connecticut antecedents. He had come to Cleveland in 1833, and had established himself in the practice of law. He inclined toward business and became identified with real estate, industry and railroads. He married a daughter of one of the wealthiest men of the city. He acquired wealth also through his own efforts. Within a few years he was prominent in politics, and in 1851 was defeated by Wade for the United States Senate by one vote. Chase defeated him for the governorship in 1857 by 1500 votes. He was a delegate to the National Conventions of 1856, 1860 and 1872. In the famous Charleston Convention he had led the fight for Douglass, who was his relative and with whom he had studied law. In 1874, he had carried the Cleveland district as a candidate for Congress. In that body he had been instrumental as a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, preventing "hard" and "soft" money men from disrupting the party.

It was of course pure historical irony which placed Payne in the same political party with men of the antecedents of Thurman, Allen and Pendleton. It was a matter of gossip that Payne had failed to defeat Chase in the critical election of 1857 because of the failure of Thurman and other "People from the Southward" to render cordial support.⁴⁸ The impending contest for the presidential nomination was significant, however, from an angle other than that of the rivalry between two men

⁴⁸ Cf. Powell, *The Democratic Party of the State of Ohio*, I, p. 187.

of conflicting antecedents. Payne's two sons, Oliver and Nathan, lived in Cleveland. The first-named held a high position with the Standard Oil Company. William C. Whitney of New York, who had married Payne's daughter, headed his state's delegation to the National Convention. While the two sons were obliterating the Thurman "boom" by every knowable intrigue, they were hoping to coöperate with their brother-in-law in adjusting political accounts.

Thurman was fully aware of all that was transpiring and made desperate efforts to counter the results of a lost battle. He called upon the delegation to meet him at Columbus on June 18. Less than half of the members responded and adjourned shortly to meet in Cincinnati. Before the National Convention had become organized the delegation was so thoroughly under the control of the anti-Thurman group that one of their own number was selected chairman of the delegation. The Democratic "favorite son" candidacy was thus rendered far more hopeless than ever that of Sherman had been.

The first ballot in the Convention indicated General Hancock as the leading candidate. The New York and Pennsylvania delegations were torn by dissensions equal to those of Ohio, but an attempt was made to kill off Hancock by mustering the Tilden forces to Randall. During the roll call, the Ohio delegation retired for consultation and returned only in time to cast its vote for Hancock, whose nomination was already assured. On the vote for Vice-President, the behavior of the delegation was equally ludicrous. Ex-Governor Bishop had been presented for nomination. The Ohio delegation withdrew again, however, and resolved to support Dur-

bin Ward, a loyal Thurman supporter. While they were out, an Ohio delegate cast the state's vote for William English, and his nomination had been secured before the Ohio delegation had returned.

The presidential campaign of 1880 was directly conditioned by the same type of political attitude that had pervaded the pre-convention manipulations. Neither party dared to risk the hazards connected with the financial question. It was entirely clear that a reopening of that issue would have diverted greater prominence to the National party which was at the very moment holding votes enough to turn the balance of power in the House. Prosperity was entirely too concrete an argument to make an attack upon Resumption an expedient procedure on the part of the Democrats. The agitations of the greenback advocates were all but smothered in a bitter campaign of personalities. In order to veneer the real character of the campaign each of the major parties resorted to every possible device in order to represent an issue at stake. Personal charges against the candidates were supplemented by representations of the dire consequences connected with the possible success of the opposition. The assumed hysteria of the Cleveland *Leader* was typical: The Democrats entertained schemes to "divide Texas into five states, to admit Romish Arizona and New Mexico, and a repudiation of the Amendments by twelve more judges to be added by a Democratic President * * *" Toward the close of the canvass Republican conjurors were certain that the Democratic platform declaration for a tariff for revenue furnished the basis for a fight against "free trade."

Beneath all the artifices of a national campaign,

however, a fundamental feature stood out significantly: Republicans found their treasured appeal to sectional prejudices a less valid instrument for the promotion of party solidarity; and the Democracy advanced no common program in opposition to the new industrial structure which had advanced as if by magic under Republican auspices. A conflict to win over stragglers from an opposing camp forbade even great emphasis of traditional differences. The campaign, primarily a dynastic struggle for office, signified little beyond the power of tradition in political combat.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHALLENGE OF A NEW DECADE

The inaugural at Washington, March 4, 1881, witnessed five native Ohioans prominently identified with the ceremony. The retiring President, the President-elect, the Chief Justice administering the oath, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and the Secretary of the Treasury stood upon the platform of the east portico of the Capitol. The spectacle was a source of congratulation to Ohioans; their traditions respecting the ability of the Ohio man appeared fully vindicated. One writer declared it a positive demonstration of ethnographic influences.¹ Each was there, however, through a multiplicity of circumstances.

The conditions which confronted the new President were in every way as complex as those which had elevated him to the office. Every faction had been awaiting the day which should reveal the status of its political

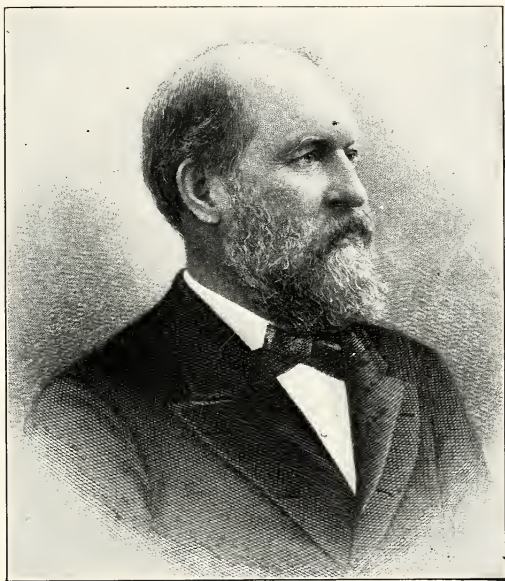
¹ Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, II, p. 127.

fortunes for the next four years. The qualities of a "dark horse" candidate remained even on inaugural day somewhat concealed. Conkling, thwarted by the last administration, was sparing no threat nor device in prosecuting efforts to recoup his damaged machine in New York. Independents, upon vague convictions of Garfield's adaptability to reform of the civil service, had supported his candidacy. Their faith had at various times been shaken by evidences that did not reflect decided immunity from machinist influences.²

Before the inaugural year had closed, the assassination of the President sobered the national mind and led to momentary reflection upon the consequences of zealous demand for office. The political readjustments which the President had attempted had led to all but inextricable tangles. Among other things he had faced the necessity of securing harmony in his own state. The selection of Blaine as Secretary of State made Sherman's continuance in the Treasury impossible. Conkling's selection of Morton for that position was passed over for various reasons. His appointment would have been a direct repudiation of the Hayes-Sherman admin-

² Garfield's message of acceptance aroused the criticism and apprehension of various prominent members of the party. Both Sherman and Hayes criticised his stand relative to civil service. Carl Schurz did not hesitate to warn against the consequences of compromise: "No skill in nice balancing will save you from the necessity of choosing between two roads, one running in the reactionary tendencies and machine politics, and the other in the direction of intelligent, progressive and reformatory politics. Following the latter you will be supported by the best intelligence and moral sense not only of the party but of the country. Following the former, you will have the political machinists around you and will be their slave." Schurz, *Speeches, Correspondence, etc.*, IV, pp. 1-5. For Platt's account of his "bargain" with Garfield, see Platt's *Autobiography*, chapter VI.

istration and a shock to western interests as well.³ Sherman's continuance would have been a final blow at Conkling's demands. The solution was to award Sher-



JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD

Lieutenant Colonel in the Union Army, August 21-November 27, 1861; Colonel, November 27, 1861-January 11, 1862; Brigadier General, January 11, 1862-September 19, 1863; Major General, September 19-December 5, 1863; Representative in Congress, March 4, 1863-November 8, 1880; elected United States Senator, but did not take his seat as he was elected President of the United States before his term in the Senate began; fatally wounded by an assassin, July 2, 1881, died September 19, 1881.

man the President's vacated seat in the Senate and ap-

³ Morton was unqualified because of his business interests. Windom's anti-monopoly record supplemented Garfield's "sound money" record.

point Foster to a Cabinet position. The latter part of the program became deranged through the war with Conkling, and Foster was compelled to surrender and seek re-election to the governorship.⁴

Even with this arrangement, the party situation was not altogether satisfactory. The apportionment of expenses for the Chicago convention continued to threaten the party truce for some time after the election. Again Sherman's willingness to compromise served good purposes. Nichol, the dispenser of finances at Chicago, performed successfully the duties of an intermediary. In December, Sherman agreed to pay any part of the debt that Foster demanded with the understanding that the latter should be renominated for governor.⁵ This meant also that Foster could look with encouragement to succeeding Pendleton in the Senate two years later. Matthews, whose ambition to return to the Senate had been thwarted by the Democratic reaction in 1877, occupied himself in overcoming opposition to his confirmation to the Supreme Bench.⁶ His record as a corporation lawyer was held up as an argument against his confirmation. This opposition was ultimately allayed, but only, however, after Sherman had counseled Foster that "either Matthews himself or someone for him should be here to help the matter."⁷

The State Convention, in June, 1881, witnessed the consummation of the recast political program. Threats

⁴ Cf. *The Nation*, December 23, 1880. *Hayes Diary*, December 14, 1880.

⁵ Sherman to Bateman, Foster and Grosvenor, December 6, 7, and 8, 1880, respectively. *Sherman MSS.*

⁶ His nomination by Hayes had been defeated a few months earlier.

⁷ *Sherman MSS.*, March 19, 1881.

of a revolt had been made in case Foster should be re-nominated. Sherman, as agreed upon, came to the rescue. He presided at the Convention, plead support for Garfield's administration and gave Foster his full endorsement. His speech was identical in spirit with the platform. The latter in brief form, one of the briefest on record, endorsed the Republican party on the basis of its past performance.⁸ Sherman recalled it afterward as an exceptionally good set of resolutions.⁹ Foster was nominated according to schedule, and the party again moved to overcome its adversary.

The Democrats were at the same time seeking a working program with which to match that of the Republicans. The schism of 1880 had riven the party into two factions between which there appeared to be no hope of future coöperation. One group, that which had been identified with the Payne interests, had become popularly designated as the "kid" element. Colonel Oliver H. Payne of Cleveland and John R. McLean of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* were its most prominent leaders. The other faction, designated as the "mossback," still looked to Thurman and Pendleton for leadership. The immediate need was to declare a truce and select a candidate acceptable to both factions—so much of a "dark horse" that it would take "two weeks to find out who he is." The honor was finally settled upon John W. Bookwalter of Springfield, a wealthy manufacturer

⁸ *Ohio State Journal*, June 9, 1881.

Annual Cyc., 1881, p. 699.

⁹ Sherman, *Recoll.*, II, p. 820.

of steam engines.¹⁰ He had formerly been identified with the Republican party, but was reputed to have carried a torch in a recent Democratic procession. The "mossbacks" failed to become enthusiastic for their candidate. The circumstances of the President's assassination cast a gloom over the campaign. Foster was re-elected by 24,000 less votes than he had polled in 1879. Bookwalter received 30,000 less than Ewing had received. The truce of party leaders became a voters' truce as well.

Of more significance to the immediate future than the vote of either major party was that cast by the Prohibitionists. Their candidate for Governor received above 16,000 of the 23,000 cast for minor party candidates — 6,000 more than the highest record of the crusade of 1873. Foster succeeded only in bringing disaster upon his party when legislation was secured against the interests of the liquor traffic. Two separate laws were passed providing for regulation through taxation. Each was in turn declared unconstitutional. The Democracy therefore held a distinct advantage in 1883 with its opportunity of nominating a candidate on an "anti-sumptuary" platform.

But the factional war was resumed. The candidacy of Durbin Ward was promoted by the "mossback" faction. No name in the political annals of the state commanded higher respect from the standpoint of character and popular esteem. He was not pliant in politics. During the war he had won a Brigadier-General's commission, and in the midst of the great struggle had given

¹⁰ Bookwalter bore the reputation of never having had a strike among his employees.

expression to the famous phrase, "I am a Democrat." After the hardships of farm life in Kentucky and Indiana he had, like many of his compatriots, taught school and studied law. Later he entered into a partnership with the celebrated Thomas Corwin at Lebanon. He had never won signal success in politics, but many of his friends were hopeful when the Democratic Convention met in 1883.

Ward's opponent for the nomination was George Hoadly of Cincinnati, a Puritan of the Puritans. He was born in New Haven, Connecticut, and was a lineal descendant of Jonathan Edwards and Timothy Dwight. He had grown up in Ohio, and after graduating from the Harvard Law School, had entered the law office of Salmon P. Chase in Cincinnati. Hoadly had originally been a Democrat. During the war he had been a Republican. He was one of the most prominent Liberal Republican leaders in 1872, and in 1876, just in time to argue before the electoral commission that a Tilden elector from Oregon was entitled to a vote, he again became a Democrat. As a recent Democratic "recruit," his candidacy had advantages of an overture to disaffected Republicans — especially those alarmed by recent prohibitive tendencies of their party.¹¹

The renewal of the factional fight of 1880 with all its questionable manipulations was signalized by the rivalry between Ward and Hoadly for the gubernatorial nomination. Pendleton was interested in securing his re-election to the Senate. He had quarreled

¹¹ Hoadly was the leading attorney for the liquor interests in a suit to test the constitutionality of the Scott law, which provided for the taxation of saloons.

with the McLeans, and their paper, the *Enquirer*, opened its columns to a warfare of invective. Pendleton and Hoadly secured the support of a rival paper, and the *Enquirer* turned to the support of Durbin Ward.¹² The result of the convention fight, probably the "noisiest, the most disorderly and altogether the most remarkable political gathering" that Columbus had ever seen, and characterized by "a few instances that led to accusations of crookedness," was the nomination of Hoadly.¹³ At the close of the proceedings the defeated candidate for the nomination was called upon for a speech. He declared that he would be a candidate for the United States Senate, but that he would not use one dollar to secure his election.

The hopes of both Pendleton and Ward were framed without sufficient reference to the strength of a combination that was set on foot immediately after the election. Hoadly was elected Governor, and Pendleton was certain that a majority of the Democratic caucus would secure his nomination. Between the election and the meeting of the caucus, however, his pledges began to be seized by an enthusiasm for Payne. The latter's name had not been mentioned during the legislative canvass in connection with the Senatorial honor. On January 8, 1884 — an appropriate date for awarding Democratic offices — the Payne agents had squared a majority of Democratic legislators with their program.¹⁴

¹² The *News-Journal*.

¹³ Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 22, 1883.

Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-220, describes the Convention in detail.

¹⁴ For testimony as to their methods see *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 49th Cong., 1st sess., Vol. V, No. 106, and *Cong. Record*, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 7308-7361.

Payne was a man of vast wealth. "Hereafter, if we elect him senator, there will be plenty of money to conduct the campaigns in the state of Ohio."¹⁵ Pendleton was "penurious," and General Ward was poor. Pendleton had also sponsored the disreputable Civil Service Law; Payne "believed in delivering the spoils around among the victors."¹⁶ The real explanation was that men connected with one of the greatest industrial concerns of the age had united their forces with those of a powerful newspaper editor¹⁷ and completely eclipsed the agencies of feudal warfare employed by the "moss-backs."¹⁸

The election of Payne was a natural culmination of a movement set up in the Democratic party to counter the Foster machine. The magnitude of its manipulations cannot, of course, be accurately estimated. In

¹⁵ *Senate Misc. Docs.*, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 106, p. 122.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁷ John R. McLean of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*. In August the so-called Highland House Convention had been held in Cincinnati in order to control the nomination of legislative members and secure Pendleton's defeat. Its high-handed methods became traditional in the annals of corrupt politics. For various accounts of its proceedings see the Cincinnati *News Journal*, of August 19, 1883; *Commercial-Gazette*, July 4, 1884, and September 7, 1889; Myers, *op. cit.*, chap. IX.

¹⁸ During the procedure, Thurman issued a statement which was aimed as a bomb against the Payne manipulators. Relative to the attack upon Pendleton *in re* his Civil Service Reform bill, Thurman replied: "I hear Payne men say: 'We can not support Pendleton because we disapprove of his civil service reform bill', forgetting that convention after convention of the Democratic party, both State and National, had resolved in favor of civil service reform, and also forgetting that the Republicans now in office are just as liable to be turned out as if the Pendleton bill had never been passed But if these gentlemen cannot support Pendleton, why can not they support Ward? He is not responsible for the civil service reform bill. Indeed, I have always understood that he disapproves of it. . . . Why then prefer Payne to him? The answer, I fear, is per-

January, 1886, one Colonel S. K. Donavin published an open letter in the Cincinnati *Commercial* specifically naming a number of men who had received from \$1,200 to \$5,000 for their votes. The State Legislature instituted an investigation. About fifty witnesses were examined by a special committee. A wealth of damaging evidence was secured and forwarded to the Senate. The majority report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections held that there was no evidence that Payne himself was charged with irregularities. It was the business of Ohio to prosecute its own corruptionists. Senators Frye and Hoar of that committee made a minority report which declared that sufficient evidence had been produced to warrant an investigation. The former declared the issue was "whether or not the great Standard Oil Company, the greatest monopoly of to-day in the United States of America, a power which makes itself felt in every inch of territory in this whole republic, a power which controls business, railroads, men and things, shall also control here; whether or not that great power has put its hand upon a legislative body and undertaken to control, has controlled and has elected a member of the

fectly plain. There never has been any machine politics in the Democratic party of Ohio. We have, as a party, been freer from bossism than any party that has ever existed. But some men seem to think that we ought to have a machine amply supplied with money to work it, and under absolute control of a boss or bosses, to dictate who shall and who shall not receive the honors and rewards within the gift of the party. To set up such a machine it is necessary, in the first place, to kill the men who have heretofore enjoyed the confidence of the party—the men whose ability, hard labor, and principles did so much to keep the party together in the terrible ordeal through which it has passed . . . I want to see all true Democrats have a fair chance, according to their merits, and do not want to see a political cut-throat bossism inaugurated for the benefit of a close party corporation or syndicate."

United States Senate. . . ." The body could not afford to sit silent and not let its voice be heard as to the truth of the allegations.¹⁹ During the entire procedure Payne made no move to vindicate himself by urging an investigation. The Senate accepted the majority report and refused to investigate.²⁰

¹⁹ *Cong. Rec.*, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 7322-7323.

²⁰ The evidence gathered by the investigating committee of the State Legislature is in *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 49th Congress, 1st sess., No. 106. The Senate debate introduced a measure of additional evidence. Cf. *Cong. Rec.*, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 7203-7210, 7251-7272, 7308-7329, 7350-7362. A series of newspaper editorial declarations, chiefly Democratic, is given on page 7327.

John Hay, in a letter dated January 18, 1886, summarized for Sherman his views relative to the investigation: "I hasten to reply to your letter of the 16th. I entirely agree with you in your repugnance to go into the matter. I should certainly advise you to keep out of it if possible—for two reasons. First it is so disagreeable in itself. Second I believe it will be impossible to prove Donavin's charge.

Of course everybody believes money was used. Col. Payne has a passionate devotion to his family (he cares little for politics *per se*) and would as freely give a hundred thousand as a cent for his father's or Whitney's success. But from the nature of the case these things are unprovable. Col. Thompson, we will say, paid the money. A member receives it. They are *solus cum solo*. Nobody else can swear they saw it. Both sides will of course deny it. A man who will take a bribe will not stick at perjury. Even those who have blabbed about it will deny and say they were joking.

If the investigation is ordered and nothing is proved, where is the gain? And in the last resort, I am sure the matter was never mentioned between Mr. Payne and the Colonel *Sherman MSS.*

Newspapers of both parties, immediately after the election and for several years afterward, denounced the corruptionists in bitter terms. January 9, 1884, immediately after the caucus, the *Columbus Times* (Democratic) declared: "The Democratic clock is put back four years, and corruption is given a new leasehold in our land. Syndicates purchase the people's agents, and honest men stand aghast."

The Cincinnati *Commercial-Gazette*, September 9-14 inc., 1889, contains a detailed "History of the Payne Purchase" by General H. V. Boynton.

The Payne election shattered every hope of the party of exercising any influences whatever upon the National Convention of 1884. The tariff bill of 1883 furnished additional grounds for disunity. Payne was convinced that it had been a source of embarrassment in the election of 1883. He spoke his convictions frankly in a long letter to Doolittle of Wisconsin: "But for the insanity at Washington, we could have carried the state in October by 25,000 or 30,000. . . . But devils and fools would have it otherwise. Carlisle was made speaker. Hurd, the fanatic free trader, was, against the united protest of all our members and and the known wishes of the entire party of the state, placed on the Ways and Means Committee, and under the leadership of Watterson and the Kentucky statesmen, a crusade was commenced for "Revenue only" and against the "Ohio platform." All that was wanted to secure success on our part was that the tariff for this Congress should be let alone."²¹ In addition labor strikes threatened a defection which would partially recoup the Re-

²¹Payne to Doolittle, April 10, 1884, in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, Vol. 22, p. 544.

Additional extracts furnish a commentary on the character of the tariff and political struggle: "The present law had not been tested. No man could tell wherein it was defective. Nobody asked for change or agitation. No amendatory law could be passed. Evil and only evil could result from the attempt. But demented, conceited, desperate schemers would have it so. They proclaimed "free trade or defeat"! Hence the "Morrison Bill," with its senseless, illogical and ridiculous *horizontal* strike. Last October the reduced wool rate gave us at least 10,000 votes. Both parties pledged their efforts to restore the former rate. M's bill, instead of restoring it, deducts 20 more and the recent vote of the House shows an immense majority of Democrats in that direction. Now how can we expect that the wool growers can be induced to vote with us in October or November? Unless the Democratic members by some bad step rebuke this free trade madness, and with the coming convention pronounce distinctly for

publican loss of Prohibition and saloon votes.²² Hoadly's administration, through its recognition of the Payne faction and its "coal oil" legislature was a party disaster. There was, from the standpoint of disunity within the state, even less hope for the success of an Ohio candidate than there had been in 1880.

The state delegation was headed by representatives of both factions. Thurman and Ward were associated with Hoadly and McLean. Thurman's name was presented by a Kentucky delegate. T. E. Powell, a recent convert, nominated Hoadly. On the first ballot, Thurman received a total of 88 votes including 23 from his own state. Hoadly received 3, including 2 from his own state. The remaining 21 were cast for Cleveland, who was nominated on that ballot.

The election of the first Democratic President since the Civil War was accomplished with Ohio remaining in the Republican column. The circumstances carried little significance beyond exhibiting the demoralized

the Ohio Platform it will, in my opinion, be utterly useless to enter a canvass to carry Ohio in October Yet if, on the Morrison Bill, it appears that a majority of the Democratic party are free traders, I doubt much whether the Ohio Platform adopted at Chicago would recover us from the shock which this agitation has given in alarming the business men of the country." . . . Without recovery a defeat of at least 30,000 votes was prophesied.

²² In October ex-President Hayes estimated the changes in votes as follows: "On a full vote the Republican majority I put at 30,000. From this deduct 10 to 15,000 Prohibition votes and 10,000 saloon votes. Add 5,000 Irish and Labor votes and we have left at least 10,000 majority. I hope for this result." *Hayes Diary*, October 14, 1884.

state of the Democratic party.²³ And developments immediately after the Presidential inaugural promised no immediate return to the better. The election of 1885 was a demonstration of political corruption in its worst form. Intimidation at the polls, stuffing of the ballot-boxes by gangs of hired repeaters and the forging of tally-sheets were combined in the mad scramble to control office.²⁴ Since the election involved Sherman's seat in the Senate, serious charges were brought against men high in Democratic ranks. By clever manipulation the Republicans were able to prevent a majority of Democrats being seated in the Legislature. Sherman's election ultimately rested upon a narrow majority on a joint ballot. The Republicans were in suspense until the last moment, and their success was a matter of joy and congratulation. Sherman had, according to William H. Taft, "overcome one of the most scoundrelly conspiracies ever conceived in the history of American politics."²⁵

²³ During the canvass Payne in outlining the prospects to Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin remarked: "This scandal affair is unfortunate to say the least. Some of the tenderest portion of the goody good people may be frightened away from us." *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Pub.*, Vol. XXII, p. 547.

²⁴ Two wards, one in Cincinnati and the other in Columbus became classical examples of tally sheet forging. In the first case 726 was made to read 926 by affixing a 0 on the 7. In the latter case 208 was converted into 508. These manipulations were committed in behalf of Democratic candidates. The numbers became stereotypes of Democratic corruption in Republican newspapers. They were invariably reproduced in such a manner as to illustrate the method of the forgery. Extensive accounts are in Foraker's *Notes*, I, pp. 213-223; *Cincinnati Commercial*, January 10, 1886, September 7, 1889.

²⁵ Taft to Sherman, January 14, 1886. *Sherman MSS.* Under date of January 13, 1886, John Hay congratulated Sherman and declared: The state not only secures your inestimable services for six years to come, but Ohio

The Democracy had no opportunity of vindicating itself as a state organization before the Presidential campaign of 1888. Hoadly was defeated after his renomination for Governor in 1885. T. E. Powell, another recent recruit to Democratic ranks, who had engineered the scalping of Thurman in 1884, was ineffective as a candidate in 1887. Again the delegation had no commonly accepted program and was without influence in determining the action of the National Convention. The renomination of Cleveland was a foregone conclusion. His selection of Thurman for the Vice-Presidential candidacy was effective in securing the latter's nomination.²⁶ At the same time a considerable contingent of the Ohio delegation was busily intent

escapes what would have been an indelible disgrace, if fraud and envy had been able to accomplish your defeat."

Irregularities were not of course confined to Democratic manipulators. The October election of 1884 was, in Cincinnati, an occasion for exceptional irregularities. U. S. Marshal Lot Wright testified that he had received a shipment of 600 English bulldog pistols, presumably from the Republican National Committee, with which to arm deputy-marshals. The weapons were placed in the hands of men with slight regard for their character and with due reference to their Republicanism. Testimony relative to the results covers almost 600 pages of a House Report. Cf. *House Reports*, 48th Congress, 2nd Sess., No. 2681.

²⁶ A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* (June 4, 1888) wrote: "It (the Thurman boom) does not come from Ohio and the tendency in that state seems to throw the entire responsibility for it outside. It is the product, not to use the term in an offensive sense, of the machine. It is an invention of that child of genius, William L. Scott, stimulated no doubt by that gentleman in the White House, who has long been in friendly relations with the Ohio veteran." The California delegation, out of respect to Thurman's attitude toward Chinese exclusion and the regulation of the Pacific Railway, led the demonstration.

upon "kicking him through the ropes."²⁷ A sea of red bandanna handkerchiefs, the battle emblem of the "Old Roman," completely swept aside the white hat emblem of Governor Gray of Indiana. The nomination of Thurman and the subsequent defeat of the Democratic ticket may, from the standpoint of subsequent developments, be regarded as the final scene in an era of Ohio Democratic politics. A new generation of leaders was no longer hindered in availing itself of the legacy.

The decade ending in 1888 had indeed been a barren and demoralized period of Democratic politics. It was for the most part devoid of meaning, other than its demonstration of commercialized politics incidental to an advancing industrial age. Republican opponents derisively referred to the Democracy as the C. O. D. party, and suggested that the terms represented also the "Collapsed Ohio Democracy." But the Republicans shared in the experiences of a "Slough of Despond." Sherman remained the visible leader of his party and was in 1884 and 1888 hopeful that it would pay a just indebtedness by promoting him to the Presidency. His shadow, like that of Thurman, lay athwart the paths of younger men with growing ambitions. It was well for his party that he could accept with apparent stoicism an extraordinary degree of political disappointment.

After the successful campaign of 1881, the liquor issue had become an important stumbling block in the way

²⁷ June 5, 1888, Charles Hedges telegraphed Sherman from St. Louis: "Ohio delegation very sore at being whipped in for Thurman; Indiana intensely disappointed over Gray's defeat. Leading members both delegations privately predicting your nomination and election."

of Foster's election to the Senate.²⁸ The party had attempted in vain to read the issue out of the campaign of 1883. A Republican sally on the "free trade" heresies of the Democracy failed to break the drift. Constitutional amendments relative to the traffic were submitted to popular vote, but disaffected contingents had turned either to the Democratic or the Prohibition party, and Foster saw the coveted honor captured by the Payne machine. Joseph B. Foraker, a young Cincinnati lawyer, had been chosen with the consent of all factions to oppose Hoadly for the Governorship. His advent secured for the Republicans one of the cleverest campaigners of his generation. He became a past-master in turning every opening afforded by the opposition to the account of his own party. Later the acts of a Democratic President were converted into an outrage on a patriotic conscience. The "rebel flag" order, the "gone a fishing," the lowering the flag for "old Jake Thompson" and the "Gettysburg snub" affairs became the material which fired a "blazing spirit of patriotism and Republicanism that filled the minds of the people who listened and then voted."²⁹ An attempted "Rebel Invasion," i. e., aid to a Democratic candidate by a southern governor, was swept back by a fife and drum corps to the tune of "Marching Through Georgia."

Despite untoward events and circumstances, Sherman entertained hopes of becoming the available candidate of his party in 1884. His hopes were so ill founded, however, that he later denied having had any interest

²⁸ At times Sherman's critics blamed him for "letting the ship go down" as a defence against a Republican colleague in the Senate.

²⁹ Foraker, *Notes*, I, p. 279.

whatsoever in securing the honor.³⁰ And yet he was in continuous touch with political advisers as to how his nomination could best be promoted. Political honors, like lightning, sometimes play freakish tricks, and it is always well to be prepared for the shock.³¹ Foraker, Warner Bateman and C. W. Moulton advised Sherman and received directions as to the tack to be pursued. The intention was to conduct the Sherman candidacy in such a manner that the Blaine men could turn to Sherman as they had not been able to do in 1880.³²

The nomination of Blaine was not, therefore, without its disappointments. The Ohio delegation did not measure up to Sherman's expectations, and he was con-

³⁰ Sherman *Recoll.*, II, pp. 885-886. "I had not expressed the slightest desire to make such a contest. When approached by personal friends I dissuaded them from using my name as a candidate. I neither asked nor sought anyone to be a delegate. When the convention met, the Ohio delegation was divided between Blaine and myself, and this necessarily prevented any considerable support of me outside of the state. I was not sorry for it. I regarded the nomination of Blaine as the natural result under the circumstances."

³¹ Foraker reproduces in his *Notes* extensive correspondence relative to promoting Sherman's candidacy.

³² The following excerpts from letters in the Sherman manuscripts indicate the methods by which this end was being promoted: On May 4, Warner Bateman declared the advisability of avoiding "irritation or offense to those having Blaine preferences in Ohio. These matters could probably be best determined on the ground. If it is so determined it could be very safely left with such men as Robinson, Craighead, Foraker, Amos Smith, etc. These are valuable and discreet men. But these for purposes of counsel should be so increased as to include every sincere and discreet friend of yours, in the delegation, that the jealousies that impaired the effectiveness of your support in 1880 might be avoided. It is also desirable that as much individual work should be put in as possible toward abating the ardor of the positive Blaine support as dull and feeble in its influence on the convention and in the best condition for an early abandonment of him. I am satisfied that the condition could not be more favorable for this work. West can be handled by those who

vinced that it was chargeable to William McKinley's timidity and unreliability. This conviction he expressed to a friend and adviser: "McKinley only demonstrated the characteristics he has always shown of being timid, uncertain, changeable and utterly unreliable. He deceived my friends from the beginning to the end, and, without exception, they feel for him marked ill-will tinged with contempt. He certainly misled me and was the fatal cause of most of the dissensions in the Ohio delegation, which, if he had acted firmly for me, would have been two-thirds or three-fourths in my favor. His pretended friendship was a lure and a snare, and far worse than his open opposition. I trust the good people of his District will not nominate him

know him. He is fearless and aggressive in a fight but is not stubborn. He could be employed in many things in which his enthusiasm as well as his partisanship could be safely worked off. He would be good on resolutions in the judicial work of contests in delegations. He is a noble hearted but ambitious man and must be dealt with accordingly. Mack and Conger can be used to advantage. If Colonel Moulton will keep sufficiently to the rear, his capacity to learn what is going on and the access to persons to be reached will be of great value. . . ."

Another letter after Moulton had arrived in Chicago preceding the Convention was of the same tenor: "Upon arriving here, I find that the delegates here will not take any excuse and that I must go with them this evening.

The story that proposals have been made to Foraker have just this foundation. Mr. Scarlett, a Kentucky delegate, called upon Foraker with a proposal to make him (F.) the nominee for the second place. Presumably this came from the law firm of which Arthur was a member in New York City as that firm are attorneys for Mr. Scarlett, who is manager for Dun's Commercial Agency in New York. It is stated that Mr. Butterworth made a similar proposition to Foraker not long since. There is no doubt about these offers—and I give them to you so that you may know the story. No one believes that Foraker could consider the matter other than to reject it. But it serves to illustrate the difficulties of preserving strict methods in politics where such trading is resorted to on all sides."

for Congress. If they do, they will certainly have cause to regret it. . . . All this is in the confidence of private friendship, although I shall probably openly state the substance and have no objection to stating without you quoting me the effect of McKinley's defection and how I feel about it."³³ Subsequent events were to produce a noteworthy change in the relationship between the two men.

On the other hand the Convention had its compensations. Sherman was notified of the effective work of a new-comer in national politics: Marcus A. Hanna of Cleveland received an expression of the candidate's gratitude and hopes for a more intimate acquaintance.³⁴

Sherman in 1887, as in 1879, engaged himself in the task of formulating a nationalistic program toward which men of all sections and interests could look with favor. In March he delivered a speech in Nashville, Tennessee, marked by a conciliatory attitude toward the "Confederate gray." He declared that the war was over and that the interests of Tennessee and other southern states must naturally draw them into the Republican party. A speech in Cincinnati proclaimed the benefits of an impending imperialism as a solution of the difficulties between labor and capital: "Let us stand by the Republican party, and we will extend in due time

³³ Sherman to J. S. McClure, June 9, 1884. *Sherman MSS.*

The letter from Sherman here quoted was written shortly after the convention, while the disappointment over the result was acute. Soon afterward he paid generous tribute to William McKinley, and in a speech at a ratification meeting of the nominations made in the Republican National Convention of 1892, "he eulogized McKinley most eloquently and declared him to be one of the best men in public life." Sherman, Recollections, Vol. II, p. 1161.—EDITOR.

³⁴ *Sherman MSS.*, June 12, 1884.

our dominion and power into other regions; not by annexation, not by overriding peaceable and quiet people, but by our commercial influence, by extending our steamboat lines into South America, by making all the Caribbean Sea one vast American ocean; by planting our influence among the sister republics, by aiding them from time to time, and thus, by pursuing an American policy, become the ruler of other dominions." It was indeed an extreme nationalism upon which Sherman proposed to lead the Republican party back into power. The South in its most militant days had not demanded a more far-reaching program of expansion in support of its system. The effect of this venture was somewhat broken by a subsequent speech delivered in Springfield, Illinois. Here his attack upon the stupidity of the Democratic party in dealing with the tariff and all national problems degenerated into a "bloody shirt" harangue. Sherman realized the equivocal effect of his speeches by attempting to reconcile their temper.³⁵

The Republican party found the real clue to an attack upon the Democracy in the message of the President to Congress in December preceding the campaign year. A Democratic revision of the tariff with a view to the reduction of the surplus as the President recommended, could mean nothing else from the standpoint of the opposition than an effort to strike down the prospering industries of the country. The Republican party was on the offensive; labor and capital in every section of the nation was open to representations of just how their respective interests were being threatened.

³⁵ Cf. *Sherman Recoll.*, II, pp. 987-988.

The promises for a "Republican year" were fair when the party met in National Convention to select their standard bearer. The circumstances surrounding Sherman's candidacy were similar in many respects to those of 1880. The Ohio delegation again embraced two men who were reputed to be entertaining ambitions similar to those of Garfield and Foster in the former contest. They were, however, revolving in opposition to each other. Foraker had twice carried the state as a candidate for Governor, and had a claim to influence similar to that of Foster. William McKinley, on the other hand, had been playing a role relative to the tariff issue similar to that of Garfield to the financial issue in 1880.³⁶ It was to him that the Sherman forces were willing to turn in the extremity of their avowed purposes becoming quixotic as it formerly had.

The division of party forces of the Ohio delegation, which led to no end of recrimination, dated from the state canvass of the year before. A dispute had arisen between Sherman and Foraker regarding the advisability of securing a resolution endorsing the former for the Presidency by the State Convention. Sherman had from all evidences grown suspicious of the growing popularity of the young Governor and his known sympathies for the Blaine candidacy. Many of Sherman's correspondents assumed a cynical attitude as to the avowed unity of the Ohio delegation, and memories of

³⁶ Murat Halstead to Sherman, June 12, 1888: "The Ohio delegation will, I think, be reasonably steady—and the fact that there is talk of *two* of the delegates as dark horses may have a conservative influence."

1880 validated their insinuations.³⁷ The State Convention ultimately passed the desired resolution but it convinced nobody, least of all perhaps, Sherman himself.³⁸ The Blaine men became all the more anxious to secure delegates who were not "offensively Sherman."³⁹

In spite of all protestations to the contrary the Ohio delegation to the National Convention was not a source of strength to the Sherman candidacy. The readiness of delegates to "sneak away" from Sherman became a commonplace in newspaper gossip.⁴⁰ The candidate was

³⁷ On July 18, 1887, Sherman declared his impatience in the following letter: ". . . . Amid the many kind things said and many friendly letters received, at the end of them all was the inquiry 'What will Ohio do? Will Ohio be solid?'" sometimes with a sneer at the position of Ohio in the past two conventions. I confess I am always irritated at the inquiry, and cannot answer it. And now the signs of the times indicate Ohio will present a divided delegation, especially if the present convention should fail to express any choice. I think it due to my personal honor not to give my encouragement to residents of other states to support me as long as there is any doubt about the position of Ohio. Nor will I go into a convention with a delegation broken up as it was especially in 1880, unless that fact and the precise condition of it is known beforehand to all the people of the United States. Sherman to John C. Entrekin, *Sherman MSS.*, July 16, 1887.

³⁸ Cf. *Harper's Weekly*, August 13, 1887.

³⁹ Foraker *op. cit.*, I, p. 335. A conference, attended by Sherman, McKinley, Foster and others, was held in Canton during July, relative to Sherman's endorsement. Foraker was overlooked in this "social and agreeable" visit and afterward learned of it through Hanna. He had his reasons for feeling that too many "moccasin" tracks were being made. The story is outlined in his *Notes*, Vol. I, Chapters XIX and XXI.

⁴⁰ Walter Wellman made the following criticism of the delegation: "Friends of Joseph B. Foraker are beginning to make known the fact that Ohio's support of Sherman is formal and half-hearted. It is a singular situation. The men who are supposed to be Sherman representatives declare that only seven of the Ohio delegates are so wedded to Sherman that they are ready to stick to him to the last. . . . Foraker is their choice. They may vote for Sherman but they are talking for Foraker. Their desire is to make the Governor a dark horse. Sherman they say is an old man of the sea, dragging down all the young men in the state. . . ." *Chicago Tribune*, June 15, 1888.

in reality courting other and more important sources of support. His mainstay in the Ohio delegation was Mark Hanna, and through him he was attempting to secure an effective combination.

Since the convention of 1884, the relationship between Sherman and Hanna had grown more cordial. The latter had, because of Sherman's influence, been appointed a member of the Board of Directors of the Union Pacific railroad.⁴¹ During May and June preceding the date of the convention he made an extensive trip through the north-west. He kept in intimate touch with Sherman and volunteered suggestions as to the promotion of the campaign. His letters suggest not only the intimacy of the relationship between the two men but something of the nature of their program. One of May 26 informed Sherman of a proposed convention procedure: "I have a letter from Mr. Conger by which I find there has been a change in the arrangements of rooms as I proposed, therefore I may be obliged to make a change in regard to the Sherman Headquarters when I get to Chicago Monday. Please have Gen. Raum notify the Chairman of the Southern Delegation to report to me on his arrival and say to them that I will be prepared to purchase surplus tickets of their Delegation for members of the Sherman Club. . . ."⁴² By the time the Convention opened Sherman had secured a large proportion of the southern delegates. His chief concern was to augment these delegations by a creditable showing of support from

⁴¹Croly, *op. cit.*, p. 131. Foraker, *Notes*, I, p. 313.

⁴² Hanna at the time of the Convention bought a large number of such tickets. Cf. Croly, *op. cit.*, p. 136. Foraker, *Notes*, I, p. 363.

the mid-West and East, especially from New York and Pennsylvania delegations. Platt and Quay, who practically controlled these delegations, were sedulously solicited to this end.⁴³ Sherman early in June consulted with them in New York. Hanna, writing from Omaha, felt free to offer suggestions and seek counsel in reference to both features of the program. Under date of May 30 he wrote: ". . . I shall be very anxious to know the result of the consultation between Quay and Platt. If Platt only wants New York City patronage — let him have it — provided that satisfies Morton and does not interfere with Miller. . . . I did not ask you a question while in W— that I wanted to, fearing that I might interfere with some of your agreements with Foster and the others — that is, may I depend on proper recognition being given to such men as I may select in several states, provided we are successful. You may depend on my selection of men because if you are elected I want to see you surrounded by the very best class of men in the party. I do not promise offices, but I do to such men. Whoever is for Sherman in time of need is Sherman's friend and Sherman never forgets his friends."⁴⁴ Quay from all evidences became thoroughly converted to the Sherman cause.⁴⁵

⁴³ Sherman's *Recoll.*, II, p. 1025.

⁴⁴ *Sherman MSS.*, May 30, 1888.

⁴⁵ Sherman's mainstay is not any of his Ohio supporters, but is Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania. Ben Butterworth, ex-Governor Foster, M. A. Hanna did the pleasing and ornamental at the Grand Pacific headquarters yesterday, while Quay kept closely to his rooms at the Richelieu and gave orders about the tack to be taken. *Chicago Tribune*, June 16, 1888.

His services were at any rate sufficient to exact a hearty expression of gratitude.⁴⁶

The first ballot of the Convention was, nevertheless, a source of disappointment. Sherman, indeed, was the leading candidate from the standpoint of number of votes received, but his strength did not measure up to the boasted estimate of his promoters. Platt cast the major portion of his state's votes for Depew, but immediately sought terms with other candidates when he found that his favorite could command little support from the north-west. His lieutenants had practically secured an arrangement whereby William B. Allison of Iowa was at the point of securing the honor. Platt was at last convinced, however, that Harrison's name satisfied his requirements, and threw his forces to the latter's support.⁴⁷ Had this attempt proved abortive, Sherman might have been the favored recipient.⁴⁸

The failure of Sherman to receive votes from New York at scheduled periods tended to break the Ohio delegation and drive its members to consider other programs in case of an emergency. On the afternoon of June 23, rumors gained currency that a Blaine test vote was forthcoming. Hanna feared that it would sweep the Convention and requested Sherman by telegraph to permit him to counter it through McKinley's candi-

⁴⁶ A telegram to Hanna during the convention reads: "Say to Quay — Thanks, a thousand thanks — call for anything you want. Let Ohio stand firmly and unitedly until convention by majority decides and heartily acquiesce. Hope for success." Sherman MSS., undated but in files with other documents pertaining to the convention.

⁴⁷ Cf. Platt's posthumous statement in the *Chicago Record Herald*, March 7, 1910, as given by William E. Curtis; also Charles Edward Russell, *These Shifting Scenes*, pp. 126-129.

⁴⁸ Platt's statement, *op. cit.*

dacy.⁴⁹ Sherman counseled both Hanna and Foraker to stand firm. Although the Blaine movement came to nothing, the Sherman candidacy was swept aside when Platt's arrangement to nominate Harrison began to materialize. Its success was attained without regard for the interests of either faction of the Ohio delegation.

It was indeed, as Mr. Croly has stated, a "seething caldron" of intrigue which took place behind the rather tame procedure of the Convention. Sherman declared a few years afterward that his defeat had been due to the "bargain" between Platt and Harrison.⁵⁰ Alger's supporters had been active in turning southern delegates to his support.⁵¹ William Henry Smith attributed a degree of Sherman's weakness to the influence of railroad interests: "One very striking feature of the Convention was the extent of the representation of railroad corporations — New York, Nebraska, Colorado and California were absolutely under their influence. The delegates of this class not only always voted against you, but always spoke against you."⁵² With Platt's support, however, Sherman might have become the nominee instead of Harrison. Just before the Convention met, John Hay, writing from

⁴⁹ The telegram read: "Blaine move to be made on next ballot. We think McKinley the only man who can defeat him. Who do you advise? Can Ohio afford to lose the opportunity? I regret the situation but fear I am right. Hanna. Foraker says he will go to Blaine. *Sherman MSS.*

⁵⁰ It was in response to this assertion that Platt confided a posthumous statement to Curtis. According to its tenor, Sherman was favorably considered as a recipient of Platt's influence.

⁵¹ Charles Foster and E. E. Wood, a patent attorney of Cincinnati, each emphasized this charge in letters to Sherman after the Convention. *Sherman MSS.*, June 26 and 27, 1888.

⁵² *Sherman MSS.*, June 25, 1888.

New York City, with more accuracy undoubtedly, defined the difficulties that stood in the way of Sherman securing the nomination. First was Platt's hostility because Sherman had written slightly of the former to someone in New York. Second was the hostility of the old Arthur and Conkling element, and finally "the bankers and brokers who thought they had not had their share of the funding operations."⁵³ The successors of the old "Stalwart" faction were in the saddle in 1888. They had no particular reasons for fitting one into the new scheme of things who had not served their interests better in other days. Neither Sherman's career nor record squared with the interests which he was attempting to command. He neither weighed political forces accurately nor held the confidence of the "interests" which supported them.

Harrison's election was for the most part a political reaction against a Democratic administration. By 1884, Cleveland's party had usurped the ground formerly occupied by the liberal elements of Republicanism. It rapidly proved to be an untenable position from the standpoint of practical politics. Cleveland shortly found himself situated as Hayes had been eight years before. It needed but the degree of courage and insight connected with the tariff message of 1887 to enable the Republicans to capitalize the forces of opposition and identify them with a program that carried an appeal for industrial support. The "Stalwart" forces of Republicanism shared liberally in the dictation of methods and rewards. Liberals and Independents ignored, if they did not accept outright, the

⁵³ *Sherman MSS.*, June 14, 1888.

new dispensation in the common cause of repudiating Cleveland. It was a campaign of "great importance to business," and as such received financial support beyond former campaigns.

Owing to the factional break in the Democratic ranks of Ohio, the state was regarded as "safe" for the Republicans. Indiana, New York, Connecticut and New Jersey became the battle-ground. Cleveland's selection of Thurman as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency accentuated rather than relieved the factional breach. The recognition of "mossback" leadership in direct opposition to the "kid" program was little short of treason; and the Chairman of the Democratic Campaign Committee had no more reason for promoting the success of the party than Zach Chandler had in securing Republican success in 1876. The Republican triumph in Ohio was due therefore to the negative tendencies of the opposition rather than to an endorsement of extreme principles.⁵⁴ True enough, the state had its particular interests which were hopefully seeking to be subsidized. But there was no opportunity of securing this end without apparently endorsing the full scheme, and the party that had won the election was shortly to find that a horizontal increase of tariff rates was almost as precarious as a horizontal reduction. The future was shortly to disclose just how great were the reservations that had attended the lease of power to the Republican party.

⁵⁴ The writer does not feel that Ohio had been successfully converted to protectionism in 1888. Perhaps Mr. Dooley's assertion that "one does not vote for a candidate but against his opponent" more nearly explains the vote of Ohio in this election.

CHAPTER VII

OHIO AND THE "FIRST BATTLE"

Preceding the Republican Convention of 1888, Mark Hanna declared his convictions to Sherman in the following terms: "You know our four delegates at large are *all in each other's way* — and no man can do the same work in such a cause as this with any other thought than the one great object sought. . . ."¹ The failure of Sherman to receive the nomination substantiated the validity of this observation. Connected with it was Hanna's conclusion, as it was undoubtedly that of his fellow-countrymen, that Sherman had become a Presidential impossibility. Without effort, McKinley had appeared to have greater availability than even Sherman, though the latter had had the benefit of long and painstaking preparations. The pursuit of the nomination, on the other hand, had afforded Hanna an opportunity to observe political methods in two national conventions. He was destined to turn his lessons to account and achieve even more significant results than his former masters had.

The task and its accomplishment are without a strict parallel. Few men have been animated by an enthusiasm equal to that of Hanna in securing the end to which he had set himself. Energetic, shrewd and affable, he had extraordinary capacity for leadership. His career, coincident with the great period of industrial expansion, and his method and outlook were molded by the atmosphere of his day. His life had been identified with practically every phase of expand-

¹ *Sherman MSS.*, May 30, 1888.

ing industry connected with the city of Cleveland. After a measure of success in business, he turned to politics. Like other men of his day, he became devoted to the same methods in politics as had brought results in his former activity. A sense of loyalty, even devotion, to his friends, led him to direct his energy to the political interests of others. In this pursuit, dictated as it was by a conviction that he was serving the best interests of good government and industry, he expressed his Republicanism and his patriotism.²

The situation which Hanna faced in 1889 was in striking contrast to that of just eight years before. The intervening period had witnessed little if anything that might be regarded as practical success on the part of Ohio Republicans; and from many angles the immediate future was scarcely more promising. The break between Foraker and the Sherman forces was a heritage of the Convention which had nominated Harrison. The charges regarding Foraker's conduct both before and after the Convention had been menacing.³ News-

² Croly, *Marcus A. Hanna, His Life and Work*, is a critical biography.

³ On May 28, preceding the Convention, E. E. Wood, a patent attorney, informed Sherman that the "position of the Governor is giving me some alarm as he has a following enough to raise a split which must not be allowed. You will of course assume to consult him and other leaders about procedure at Chicago. If you have not done so, you could write words of assurance, etc., and assume that he is satisfied. I don't want you to show this letter to Grosvenor, Butterworth or McKinley, the two latter are not close mouthed and the latter I believe to be treacherous. Still you can use your own judgment even in this matter. Col. Thompson is a prudent man. Perhaps it would be well for Thompson to write to the Governor. If we can get our forces from Ohio in half working shape we will nominate you this time and the Governor will be boasting among the loudest. . . ." *Sherman MSS.*

During the convention preliminaries, one of Sherman's trusted lieu-

papers took up the quarrel, and many in the spirit of Richard Smith, at the time editor of the *Toledo Commercial*, hoped that it spelled the end of Foraker's political life.⁴ After a brief correspondence, the friendly

tenants (Green B. Raum) declared the most serious trouble to be in the attitude of Governor Foraker: "He is prepared to make a speech against Mahone if the majority report is resisted by the friends of Mahone—this would result in a division of the Ohio delegation and would no doubt be very damaging. The fact cannot be too highly emphasized that Gov. Foraker has hindered and not helped your cause. If you are defeated, the Governor will have contributed to the result. When the delegation was organized, he recognized a favorite to make the motions and General Gibson was put on the committee of credentials instead of Mr. Butterworth as was arranged. Foster, McKinley, Butterworth and Hanna find it necessary to make concessions to the Governor to prevent a breach.

Last evening when the Ohio Clubs were in procession they halted to hear addresses by Butterworth and Grosvenor. In the midst of this the Foraker Club deliberately left the procession and disbanded. All these things have entirely shaken the confidence of Butterworth and others in the Governor's fidelity. He may vote for you all the way through, but I fear that some of his strikers on the delegation may at a critical point fail you. . . ." *Sherman MSS.*, June 20, 1888.

Henry C. Hedges, Sherman's closest neighbor in Mansfield, on the same day expressed himself in similar language, and while he feared the worst was still hopeful, "for F. is after all a weak man, with all of his ambition, and some way must be found to control him, but you must be prepared for disaster."

Two letters of Foster, one to Sherman and the other to the accused man, serve to illustrate how these charges might be framed in the face of political circumstances. To Sherman he wrote: "We were constantly met by it (i.e. the charge that eight or ten delegates were ready to leave Sherman at any time) from our friends; we insisted that it was not true. Charles Foster to Sherman, June 27, 1888. *Sherman MSS.* Two weeks later he addressed a letter of sympathy to Foraker in which he said: "I have no doubt of your good purposes; if any errors were committed they are not chargeable to a disposition to be other than faithful to Mr. Sherman's interests." Foraker, *op. cit.*, I. p. 376. Foraker states his reply to these indictments in his *Notes*, I, Chapters XXI-XXIII, inc.

⁴*Foraker*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 379.

He makes it very clear that there was no foundation for the reports of his factional opponents above quoted. John Sherman, himself, writing

relationship between Foraker and Hanna was broken. The former, however, retained a very real political influence and by way of vindication was able to command for the fourth time the nomination for the governorship. He dictated the issues upon which the campaign was conducted and defied his opponents by taking the canvass into his own hands.⁵

The Democratic candidate for governor in 1889 was, from the standpoint of the newer political age, all that could have been demanded. As late as 1879, James E. Campbell of the Dayton district had been a candidate for office on the Republican ticket. He came

*of the charges years afterwards, disposed of these reports as follows: "I have no right to complain of anything done by the members of the delegation during the convention. There was a natural rivalry between Foraker and McKinley, as they were both young, able and eloquent men. Rumors prevailed at times that the Ohio delegation could be held solid no longer, but if there was any ground for these rumors it did not develop into a breach, as the delegation, from beginning to end, cast the entire vote of Ohio for me on every ballot, except on the last two or three, only one of the delegates, * * * voted for Harrison, placing his action on the ground that he had served with him in the Army and felt bound to vote for him."*

Foraker had reached the zenith of his popularity in 1888. As many newspapers stated, he was the idol of the convention. His speeches before that body were most generously applauded. Years afterward, in 1896, Honorable Samuel Fessenden and Senator Elkins, both friends of James G. Blaine, united in a statement that they went to Senator Foraker's room at "2 o'clock" on Monday morning and "made it very clear to him that if he would consent to become a candidate he could be nominated without fail and without difficulty on the first or second ballot Monday."

Foraker refused to consent to the use of his name and voted for Sherman on every ballot. In view of these facts, the suspicions voiced in the preceding quotations became a portion of the "chaff" which has probably been evolved at every national convention since the first.—EDITOR.

⁴Cf. Foraker, *op cit.*, I, p. 379.

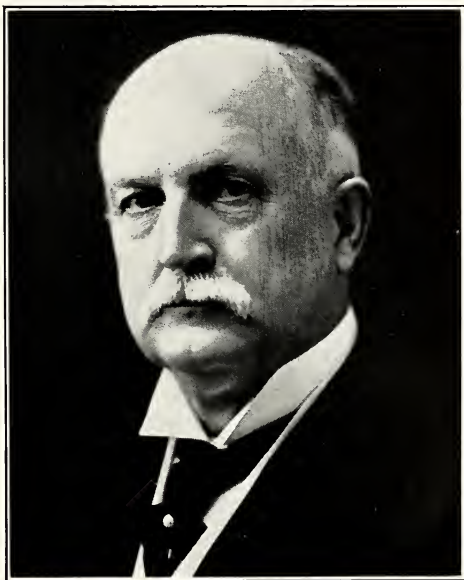
⁵C. W. Wooley (writing from Old Point Comfort, Va.) advised Sherman that Alger financed the campaign. *Sherman MSS.*, December 29, 1889.

from a family that had already gained prominence in politics and had just vindicated his ability as a Democratic politician by overcoming ordinary Republican majorities in his Congressional district and serving three successive terms in Congress.

The circumstances of the campaign were altogether favorable to the young Democratic candidate. The struggle early took on an aspect of personal abuse seldom equaled in political canvasses. Campbell's record in the navy during the war was held up to ridicule. Foraker had undertaken to advance certain proposed constitutional amendments as issues. Among these was one providing for extensive authority of the governor over election boards in cities as a remedy for extensive corruptions at the polls. To this scheme the Democrats replied by declaring for home rule—for Ohio as well as Ireland. The Foraker program as applied to Cincinnati was bitterly attacked, and in the course of the campaign Campbell read a so-called "Topp letter" which reflected discredit upon the Cincinnati administration. A counter irritant was demanded.⁶ October 4 it was forthcoming in a charge so serious that had it been true, it would have discredited Campbell for all time to come. A document was printed in the Cincinnati *Commercial* as irrefutable evidence that the Democratic candidate's record in Congress in behalf of a "pure ballot" was nothing less than an attempt to further a scheme of forming a monopoly for the manufacture of ballot-boxes. A memorandum of the contract supporting the charge was published with three of Campbell's

⁶Halstead to Sherman, *Sherman MSS.*, December 4, 1889.

signatures attached.⁷ Republican organs seized upon the scandal with all the ardor of a neighborhood gos-



JAMES EDWIN CAMPBELL

Served in the navy in the War for the Union; Representative in Congress, June 20, 1884-March 3, 1889; Governor of Ohio, January 13, 1890-January 11, 1892.

sip. The *Cleveland Leader and Herald* declared that the transaction proved Campbell "hand in glove with

⁷The original document also had the signatures of Sherman, McKinley and other prominent Republicans. These were of course withheld. According to Foraker no part of the paper was to be published until after the election. Halstead had failed to receive an expected appointment by the Harrison administration to a foreign diplomatic post. He was undoubtedly irritated by Campbell's continuous reference to him in his stump speeches as "the late Minister to Berlin."

the unprincipled and disreputable element of the Democratic party that stuffed the ballot-boxes at Cincinnati and Columbus. . . . in a vain effort to steal the Legislature, and that negotiated the purchase of Henry B. Payne's seat in the Senate."⁸ Campbell was defied to prove his innocence, and a week's silence was freely interpreted as a tacit confession of guilt. But the outcome was as sensational as the charge had been. On October 11, Halstead himself meekly confessed that he had blundered. The paper was a forgery. The Republican indictment of Democratic unreliability utterly collapsed, and an insistence upon the point merely stressed the party's confusion.⁹

Foraker's defeat was a matter of chagrin and elation at the same time to many of his party associates. Richard Smith, the newspaper editor who had declared war upon the candidate shortly after the convention in 1888, was furious, in fact "full of ugliness" and advised Sherman accordingly. Referring to the episode and its relation to the Republican *debacle* he declared: "He (Foraker) did sacrifice it (the party). Fortunately he sacrificed himself also."¹⁰

Foraker's defeat, at all events, temporarily eclipsed

⁸Cleveland *Leader and Herald*, October 4, 1889.

⁹A "saloon keepers' rebellion" also added to Republican difficulties. An amendment to the licensing law was aimed at the practice of keeping beer gardens open on Sunday. The German ideal of "personal liberty" was again challenged. Cf. Foraker, *Notes*, I, Chap. XXV.

¹⁰*Sherman MSS.*, December 4, 1889. For Foraker's apology see his *Notes*, I, pp. 402-411. A brief account is given in Sherman's *Recollections*, II, pp. 1053-1056. The full testimony, secured by a Congressional investigating committee, is given in *House Reports*, 51st Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. I, p. 3446.

Neither Foraker nor Halstead was guilty of the forgery. In their zeal to counter Campbell they fell victims to the wiles of an office-

his leadership. It at the same time afforded Hanna a much coveted opportunity to advance the interests of his faction of the party. But it was an altogether unpromising circumstance which the immediate future was offering. After the election of 1888 the Republicans were for the first time in many years in complete control of both departments of the Federal Government. They were committed to the passage of legislation looking to the reduction of the surplus without injuring the protective system. McKinley, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, became conspicuously identified with and nominally responsible for the bill which was to raise rates all along the line. The surplus was extensively reduced by spending it, or by enlarging appropriations for pensions beyond all previous records. A reduction of the revenue was secured by making many duties prohibitory and by the abolition of the duty on raw sugar. Despite the overture to farmers in the way of a heavy duty on many agricultural products which were not and could not be heavily imported, the bill embodied an altogether too radical form of the industrial program. Various classes failed to be convinced of any great "prosperity" connected with increased prices, especially in case their own purchasing capacity did not proportionately advance. The reaction not only swept the Republicans from power, but gave new impetus to

seeker. Their embarrassment consisted in having countenanced a document that brought disrepute upon so many prominent names, especially since it had been very awkwardly executed. Foraker had promised to recommend one of the chief perpetrators for a smoke inspectorship in case he secured such a paper.

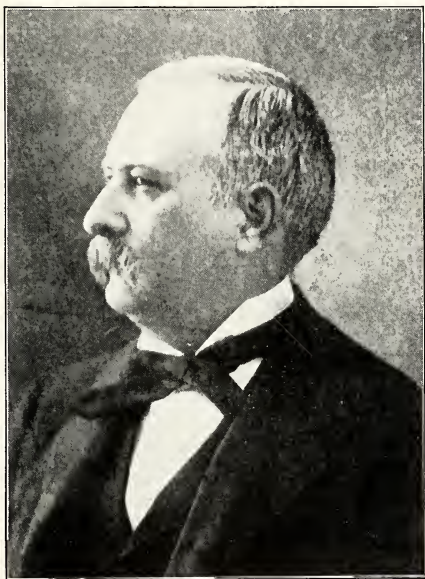
minor party movements which had, since the closing of the financial issue in 1879, assumed only momentary or local flashes of prominence. McKinley, with many of his Ohio associates, went down in the Democratic landslide of 1890. His district was gerrymandered in the hope of permanently ending his political career.

The succession of party reverses was not, however, without its compensations. As a matter of fact, many obstructions connected with the past were being swept aside in such a manner that greater opportunities for newer foundations became possible. Since the fiasco of Sherman's candidacy in 1888, Hanna had turned his political enthusiasm almost entirely to the interests of the candidate whom he had at one stage of the Convention held capable of securing the nomination. The schism with Foraker left McKinley definitely in the center of Hanna's political plans for the future. Delegates had been attracted by the steadfastness with which McKinley played the political game at Chicago.¹¹ Hanna had been particularly impressed and was determined that his favorite should have a new field of activity in retrieving the governorship. Foraker was extended an opportunity to do party penance by outlining before the Convention the candidate's qualifications for office.¹²

¹¹ The same men who wrote with disparagement of Foraker's behavior usually had a note of commendation for McKinley. William H. Smith accorded high praise for "the firmness with which he withstood all temptation. If he had been a weak vessel like Garfield, he might have been tempted to his destruction. . . ."

¹² Foraker, in his *Notes*, Vol. 1, p. 444, outlines with some detail the circumstances which made this act possible. There was no personal friction between the men, and McKinley had made the request.

The election of 1891 offered Hanna a real opportunity to vindicate his skill as a political manager. The renomination of Campbell by the Democrats offered one point of vantage to the Republicans in so far as



JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER

Enlisted in the Union Army July 14, 1862, served through the war and retired with brevet rank of Captain; Governor of Ohio, January 11, 1886-January 13, 1890; United States Senator, March 4, 1897-March 4, 1909.

the latter party was able to assume the offensive. The tariff naturally became the chief topic of campaign oratory, although "free silver" in the hands of Alliance advocates threatened to defy the efforts of both

parties to stifle its prominence. An additional source of difficulty rested in Foraker's cherished ambition to secure Sherman's seat in the Senate. The latter's influence was essential, and it was necessary to carry him along through a continuance in the Senate and the entertainment of his cherished hope that he might even yet become a Presidential candidate. Every artifice of campaign management was essential in checking various sources of threatened defection and in encouraging the best efforts of party workers. McKinley, Sherman and Foraker carried through a campaign which from visible evidences professed party unity. Sherman was convinced that the campaign was important from the standpoint of the financial issue; eastern interests were entirely too apathetic as to its significance.¹³ He was gratified in the end that an abundant crop rendered Republican farmers immune to the appeal of silver as a form of agricultural credit.

Hanna in the meantime performed a service as essential as that of party advocates, if not more so. He was effectively resourceful in raising campaign funds and vigilant in expenditures.¹⁴ In return, McKinley's

¹³ Sherman *Recoll.*, II, pp. 1125 ff.

At least one banker, however, was convinced of the importance of the campaign to the extent of \$1,000. John Jay Knox, President of a Wall Street bank, wished "every success in the campaign." *Sherman MSS.*, September 19, 1891.

Foster wrote that he had sent Hahn (the state chairman) \$5,000, "received from a gentleman in Philadelphia." *Sherman MSS.*, October 3, 1891.

¹⁴ "Something of the character of his services may be gathered from extracts of two letters to Sherman. The following is taken from one written September 28, and indicates the nature of precautions taken against Foraker: ". . . . It is well I took the position I did in the start. For if we had not insisted in having the Senatorial question in it at

majority, while not large, represented a substantial victory in the face of untoward circumstances. Foraker was not disillusioned as to how well Hanna had done his work until after the caucus had met; the former found that the vote stood in reverse proportion to his estimates.¹⁵

McKinley's election was practically the only bright spot in what was, generally speaking, a disastrous Republican year. But the situation was still a difficult one to deal with. Harrison, according to political precedent, was entitled to the vindication of a renomination. He had, however, incurred the disaffection of a large number of influential leaders of the party — especially Platt and Quay. The uncertainty of the Blaine movement formed sources of hope and discouragement at the same time, so far as the plans of securing McKin-

least seventy-five per cent. of the delegates would have been pledged to Foraker. They were thoroughly organized in every ward and township and Taylor was playing it "low down" on us all the time. Oh! he's a daisy—second only to his Creator in his own estimation. But I will give you the particulars when we meet—"

The problems of organization are indicated in the following of October 7:

"I am in receipt of your favor of the 5th inst., and reply that I fully appreciate the necessity of giving personal attention to the legislative ticket in close counties. I have been raising considerable money for the State Committee and have accepted the chairmanship of the Finance Committee of this county, so that what I do here must come from the same source. However, I will not send any funds collected in Cleveland to the State Committee until I find out what will be the application of it. I had to pay pretty well to get the workers on my side for our candidates in the convention here. You know that element are not cheap. . . ."

McLean and Brice were probably no whit less active. T. C. Williams, of Salesville, Ohio, advised Sherman on October 10: ". . . Democrats. . . are flooding the entire county with money. I can see the Italian hand of John R. McLean and Cal Brice wherever I go." *Sherman MSS.*

¹⁵ Foraker, *op. cit.*, I, p. 445.

ley's nomination were concerned. Hanna, at all events, was resolved upon securing harmony in his state delegation and taking advantage of whatever opportunities he found open. Preceding the National Convention in 1892 a conference was called for the special purpose of harmonizing the past differences of the party. A solid vote of the delegation should at any rate advertise the fact that the former schism was healed and that thenceforth Ohio delegates should not be looked upon by rival delegations as legitimate prey to hostile designs. Foraker and Hanna resumed an intimate relationship, and the former was pledged to vote for his former rival for the Presidential nomination.

Hanna elected to attend the Convention unhampered as a delegate and free to negotiate independently. He was on the ground at work before the delegation arrived.¹⁶ His sole hope rested in defeating the re-nomination of Harrison on the first ballot. But the Harrison forces proved to be altogether too well organized. On the second day of the Convention, Hanna was practically convinced that his fears for the nomination of Harrison were justified.¹⁷ Great as was his

¹⁶ Sherman was still hoping for the nomination under certain contingencies. He had however given Hanna authority to act fully in McKinley's interests. *Sherman MSS.*, May 9, 1892.

¹⁷ The following telegram, dated the second day of the convention (June 8, 1892) and addressed to Sherman, indicates Hanna's interests in the developments:

"The bitterness of the contest here seems to preclude the possibility of the exercise of good judgment. Outside of the leaders the sentiment is strong in favor of a compromise candidate. The west favors McKinley; the east Sherman. Can be harmonized if a choice is not made on first ballot; but with present feeling I believe it will be pushed to a conclusion on that ballot. The result of that I am unable to predict. I consider the situation very unfortunate for the party." *Sherman MSS.*, June 8, 1892.

apparent disappointment, he was not the man to be seriously discouraged by the darker side of his failure. Certain aspects of the situation justified a degree of optimism.¹⁸

¹⁸ The following letter (the original an autograph) is clearly indicative of Hanna's reaction:

Cleveland, June 14th, 1892.

Hon. John Sherman,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir:—

I returned yesterday from the Minneapolis convention and desire to give you something of an idea of the course of events as they transpired there.

On my arrival Saturday morning, June 4th, I found that the leaders of the Blaine faction had started out for a very active campaign and were doing most of the talking. By Sunday there were a large number of delegates on hand which seemed to increase the possibilities for Blaine so that by Monday their efforts had materialized into a demonstration that to an outside observer would make it appear as if Blaine might be nominated. The Harrison men pretended to feel confident and indifferent, but both Depew (and I understood Senator Sawyer) with others expressed themselves on Sunday and Monday as believing it for the interests of the party that a third man be chosen.

This was the opportunity I waited for, and immediately upon hearing it I went to Quay and Platt suggesting that efforts be made to bring about a conference. Both seemed to think that the time had not then arrived, Mr. Platt stating very positively that any overtures of that kind must come from the other side. When I came to make an effort in that direction I found the Harrison men taking exactly the same position—that no overtures or compromise would come from them. In fact, they pretended to believe that no third man would be considered.

For the next twenty-four hours things drifted in that direction, each side claiming strength and confidence. Meantime I was busily at work trying to bring about a condition of things which would prevent a choice on the first ballot. In canvassing the situation with reference to a choice for a third candidate I found New York, a portion of Pennsylvania and a portion of New England favoring you as that candidate, while in the West, particularly the Silver States and California, Kansas and Nebraska, the choice was almost unanimously for McKinley.

In studying the situation for your interests, I was firm in the belief that your name should not be put in the field to make a contest, for to

be put in that position the drift would have been to make you as appearing in opposition to the re-nomination of Harrison. I told your friends of the East that in my judgment your name should not be considered except in case of a dead-lock, when it would be ascertained that neither of the principal candidates could be chosen; then if it could be agreed on both sides that you should be the choice and be made so unanimously as a compromise candidate it would be the proper thing to do. I considered that there could be no honor to you in making a contest, but that if coming to you in the way I had mentioned, it would be a just tribute and would be a fortunate deliverance of the situation.

On Tuesday after the arrival of about all the delegates it became evident to me that the Blaine faction had over-rated their strength and by that time I began to find a disposition on the part of many of them to go to McKinley; therefore I renewed my efforts to prevent a nomination on the first ballot. It was discovered that a great many men inside and outside of the convention were earnestly and sincerely opposed to Mr. Harrison's nomination on the grounds of a second term and from the fact that his support in that convention was by this time clearly proven to be largely from such states as could not give him an electoral vote and many more from the so-called doubtful states. I found also that many of the delegates who had been instructed for him and many more who were under promise and control by office-holders, North and South, would vote for McKinley as their second choice. I had many assurances and expressions from such men that they hoped a choice would not be made upon the first ballot in which case they considered that (they) would be released from such promises and would vote for McKinley. At the time I wired you to this effect. Had we been able to have secured a support of thirty to fifty votes from a few of the Western States like Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, Mr. McKinley's nomination was assured. I believe that a word from Allison at the time to Governor Greer would have changed the situation and made Governor McKinley's nomination not only a possibility but a reality.

By Thursday the Harrison men had gained so much confidence that it was utterly impossible to get any consideration from them in the interests of party harmony or for any other purpose a single concession.

By Thursday afternoon the Blaine men were willing to coöperate in the nomination of McKinley. The test vote made upon the report of the Committee on Credentials was purposely forced by the Blaine men and the result was not discouraging, so that at a conference Thursday night after adjournment, it was shown that there was a possibility and even a probability of preventing a nomination upon the first ballot. To do this of course it became necessary to secure some Harrison votes for the Governor. Our New York and Pennsylvania friends told me that if I could secure the solid vote of the Ohio delegation for McKinley it would certainly prevent a choice upon the first ballot and his nomination

on the second. I spent the entire night in accomplishing this, which while it did not succeed in resulting as we could have wished, did result in great benefit to our party in Ohio because it laid the foundation for carrying out the Cleveland agreement made with Governor Foraker and his associates to do away with these factional fights in the State.

I do not consider that Governor McKinley was placed in any false position by what was done. I do not consider that the administration have any right to criticize his actions because of his friends—and I was at the head of it—took the responsibility of doing just what we did do. Governor McKinley's position to-day as the result of all that transpired at Minneapolis is in the best possible shape for his future. His bearing and conduct and personal magnetism won the hearts and respect of everybody.

So much for the nomination.

And now let me say a word about what is to follow. I am sorry to say that the re-nomination of President Harrison seemed to fall like a wet blanket upon those in attendance upon the convention outside of the ones most interested in his nomination. I found a good deal of that same feeling in Chicago where I spent Sunday; and on my return home I learn that the feeling here is even more intense in that direction. There is an utter indifference manifested toward his success, and I want to go on record now by saying that nothing except a change of his manner and policy toward the leaders of the party and the utmost consideration toward the men who have contributed so much by their efforts and work in the ranks of the party will save President Harrison from defeat in next November.

I have heard such talk that the attitude of Ohio in the convention would be visited by his displeasure toward our State as to affect the political prospects of our leaders in Ohio. Therefore I can only say to Mr. Harrison and his friends that any of that sort of feeling or talk will greatly endanger the prospects of his carrying even Ohio. I know that I am as well qualified to speak for the Northern part of the State as any other man, and he knows the loyalty and the support that he has had from the business and manufacturing interests of Cuyahoga County in the past, so that should there be any manifestation of that kind toward Ohio he would lose all the material aid and support that did so much for him in '88. I do not use this language as a threat but more as a warning that it would be a dangerous experiment for the President's friends to take any such attitude toward Ohio. For my part I feel loyal enough to the party to do all I can to secure the success of the ticket next Fall if the proper spirit is shown by the managers of the campaign, and I hope and trust that will be done.

Yours truly,

M. A. HANNA.

The action of the Ohio delegation at the Convention, notwithstanding the fact that it became among Ohio partisans a subject of vindictive charges and criticisms, was in accordance with Hanna's wishes. Among other things it was charged that the support of Foraker's faction was not given in good faith but in order to put McKinley in a false light by advancing him as a candidate when his defeat was a matter of certainty. Even Charles Grosvenor, a recognized adherent of the Hanna faction, was skeptical as to its effects.¹⁹ Hanna found excellent reasons, on the other hand, for congratulation: The Ohio delegation had for the first time in more than a decade been a practical unit;²⁰ a working agreement had been reached with Foraker; and Ohio Republicans escaped embarrassments connected with the derelict Harrison administration. Hanna realized the positive advantages of his position, felicitated Foraker for his coöperation, ignored the "foolish talk" connected with the action of the delegation and trusted time to educate "friends on both sides. . . . to do away with these factional jealousies."²¹

The election returns insured the defeat of Harrison and contributed definitely to McKinley's avail-

¹⁹ On June 14, he wrote Sherman as follows: "The casting of the vote of Ohio for McKinley at the time it was given was not in my opinion good politics. It was simply putting the Ohio men in an attitude of hostility to the administration without a possibility of his nomination. On the whole, the men who sneered at us at Chicago four years ago, Clarkson, Payne, Alger, Platt, Warner Miller, Fessenden and others got a pretty serious setback." *Sherman MSS.*, June 14, 1892.

²⁰ McKinley alone of the Ohio delegation had cast his vote for Harrison.

²¹Foraker, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 449-450.

ability in 1896. Ohio was carried by the Republicans but by the narrowest plurality in a national election since the Republicans had gained control of the state. One Cleveland elector was elected, and the average plurality of the Republican ticket did not exceed 1,000 votes. Ohio was beyond the shadow of a doubt a pivotal state whose interests must be carefully consulted in the future. The period of the incoming administration was one which would doubtless have proved disastrous to any party. Legislation touching upon any phase of the national fiscal system was certain to bring disastrous political results, and yet the situation was such that it could not have been ignored. As in 1884, Cleveland had inherited "a condition and not a theory" in respect to keeping the nation's finances balanced. Tariff reform was attempted in conformity with the campaign pledge, and an attempt was made to secure the gold reserve through repealing the silver coinage act. The sale of bonds to prevent the treasury reserve from becoming depleted convinced impatient debtors that the finances were again being manipulated to the interests of Wall Street. More favorable circumstances for an opposition party, and incidentally the program of Mark Hanna, could scarcely have been imagined. It only remained for him and his co-workers to turn the opportunity to account.

Meanwhile, developments were maturing in state and nation which were to make the political struggle of 1896 an epochal event—the first important Presidential contest since that of 1860. Preceding the reelection of Cleveland, the country had enjoyed above a decade of practically uninterrupted prosperity, and

no popular reaction to dominant tendencies greater than could be bridged by the oscillation of control from one party to the other had arisen. At the same time the great West had been settled as far as the Rocky Mountains, and the lands of western Kansas and Nebraska had been capitalized in a spirit of over-confidence in their productivity; new farms had extended the production of agricultural commodities in excess of the world's demand. Railway mileage had been extended upon an unprecedented scale and with faith in the future to secure adequate returns.²² In all these activities, credits had frequently been extended in behalf of expectations that had fallen short of realization. Farmers suffered severely — prices of commodities fell so low that they were unable to meet their obligations, and many lost their farms. Industrial depression and unemployment were augmented by these circumstances. The contraction of credit extended itself to the national treasury, and it became doubtful whether the government could maintain gold payments — especially in the face of a persistent exportation of that metal. As in 1876 it was only natural that men embarrassed by these circumstances should lend a sympathetic ear to some scheme of public credit. A free issuance of silver money to take the place of a credit system that had all but evaporated, again had the appearances of a logical solution to the difficulty. As under former circum-

²² Railways were also constructed with motives other than their dividend earning capacity. The relationship between the East and the South and West was, at the time at least, in many respects similar to that between European nations and the outlying regions of the world which had been placed under imperialistic control.

stances it side-stepped the "system of extortion" of the national banks.

The movement to achieve a program in conformity with the objective just outlined was naturally along lines of economic interests, rather than those of formerly accepted party lines. The burden of depression rested most heavily upon the debtor and laboring classes — the farmer and the propertyless. The question was, would these classes be able to strike hands in common opposition to the established system of finance and industry? The threat had gained momentum at the time that the most extreme form of Republicanism was registering its fiscal policy of 1890. The cloud gathered in the west and swept eastward with unexpected momentum.

In May, 1891, representatives of the discontented classes met in National Convention in Cincinnati and sought to give principles advocated in earlier conventions and held primarily in the West, a nation-wide significance. Their problem held all the complexities that naturally accompany such circumstances; there could be no unity as to how far established ideas were to be discarded, nor just what lines the program for the future should follow.²³ The new movement of

²³ One observer was struck by the array of discordant elements and described their dilemma with a note of cynicism: "Perhaps never in the history of politics were there gathered together a more incongruous body than that which yesterday morning began its sessions at Cincinnati. There is not one element whose ideas are not violently antagonized by half a dozen other elements and no two elements probably that agree exactly upon the same thing. Here, for instance, are the various Farmers' Alliances, representing a vast class of men who recognize a day's work of anyone in their employ as beginning as soon as the dew is off the grass and lasting as long as one can see in the evening, meeting with the Knights of Labor, and hundreds of industrial unions, whose cardinal idea is the

discontent was significant, therefore, even beyond the immediate circumstances connected with the threatened revolt: it indicated the practical value of party dogma in having secured unity in the past: it also revealed a new problem for the future in case the older parties lost their validity in the face of discouraging realities.

There was, of course, no way of determining in advance just how high the tide of discontent would rise. The more threatening it became the more interest it was bound to enlist from the leadership of the old parties. Each naturally attempted to stem it in behalf of its own interests, while in its incipient stages, through the hitherto effective device of ambiguous platform phrasing and a more intensive use of other party instruments. Leaders identified with conservative policies anxiously hoped that they would prove adequate for the purpose.

reduction of a day's work to eight hours. Here are the enthusiastic Kansas men demanding above all other things the organization of a new political party, yet seeking to coalesce with the cunning Bourbon politicians of the South who have no use for Farmers' Alliances or anything of the sort except as they may be used for putting the old Democratic party in power.

Here are the laboring men of the North, East and West, who know more keenly than they have ever known before that the very life breath of American industry is involved in maintaining the principle of protection, yet striving to strike hands with cranky 'doctrinaires' on one side and Jefferson Davis's principles on the other, whose devotion is as fanatical as a Mussulman's is for free trade.

There are organizations which look with undisguised contempt upon all the machinery of secret rituals, grips and pass words, yet whose members, nevertheless, are met to form a political alliance with other organizations into whose meetings they cannot secure a moment's admittance without first giving the necessary 'sign'" *Ohio State Journal*, May 20, 1891, reproduced in the *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Pub.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 149 ff.

As was the case a score of years earlier, the tide struck most menacingly at the strongholds of the Democratic party. The region west of the Mississippi was most strongly affected by the inequalities of a fluctuating credit system; even under normal circumstances farm mortgages operated as a sort of refined absenteeism in drawing off scant accumulations; and indebtedness effected a pressure which defied the laws of "supply and demand" in stabilizing markets.²⁴ It was no chance circumstance that the "sixteen to one" program offered an appeal to men who faced such untoward realities.

The Ohio canvass following the Cincinnati Alliance Convention of 1891 brought a sense of uneasiness to men prominent in each of the major parties. Sherman knew that his continuance in the Senate was threatened and declared that eastern men were not fully awake to the recurring danger. He answered Alliance advocates by extolling the financial system as it was — a system that made 77 cents worth of silver the equal of a dollar in gold.²⁵ He was, moreover, aggrieved when Campbell, the Democratic candidate for governor, did not readily shoulder the embarrassments of economic heresy.

And there were patent reasons for the Ohio Democracy attempting to remain impervious to a recrudescent Jacksonianism. By dismissing the financial

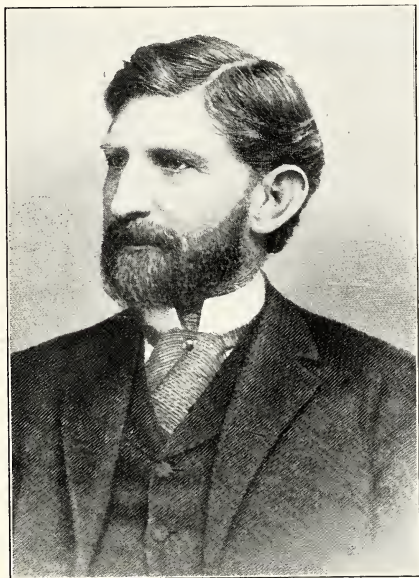
²⁴ The cause of the farmer during this period has not as yet been adequately treated. His heresies have been fought and grievances acknowledged but their origin and extent have not been adequately surveyed.

²⁵ Accordingly free coinage would demonetize gold, which constituted one-half the coin in circulation, and drive it from the country. Cf. Sherman, *Recoll.*, II, p. 1133.

issue in 1880, the party had declared a truce and signalized itself a convenient alternative to Republicanism. The subsequent promotion of the Payne candidacy had not only been an attempt to end the regime of men identified with a passing tradition but also a positive effort to place the party in direct harmony with the interests which had consistently thwarted it. During the decade of the eighties, Ohio Republicans might well be alarmed at seeing their own ground so rapidly usurped by Democratic polity. Even Democratic tariff declarations were so worded that Republicans could impute danger for various protected interests only by attributing extravagant interpretations. A partisan of the type of C. H. Grosvenor had been apparently more alarmed at seeing an outright protectionist like Payne elected to the Senate in 1884, than he was concerned with the questionable methods by which the election was secured.²⁶ The action of a Democratic President in 1887 in declaring for a general tariff reduction had been as great a source of embarrassment to many Ohio Democrats as it had been a source of gratification to Republicans.

²⁶ Grosvenor testified as follows before the Ohio investigating committee in 1886: "I did not hear that Mr. Payne was a candidate during the canvass. I had no knowledge of his being a candidate or that any person was proposing him. When I first heard about it, some time, perhaps, in December—I met a number of gentlemen in Cincinnati, Republicans. I met them one at a time; and then finally we had a meeting in the evening of three or four of us. We decided then that somebody was making a serious effort to nominate Mr. Payne, and we volunteered to endeavor to defeat Mr. Payne's election because of the supposed perils that we thought would result to the Republicans in Ohio by his election. And I may say wherein that existed as we understood it. We had made the campaign largely on the question of the protective tariff and free trade. We had lost the state, nevertheless. We thought—that was the opinion of the party

Following the election of 1889, Payne had not, it is true, been returned to the Senate. But his successor



CALVIN STEWART BRICE

Entered the Union Army as a volunteer in April, 1861, and served to July, 1865, attaining the rank of Lieutenant Colonel; United States Senator, March 4, 1891-March 3, 1897.

in no wise represented a denial of the method and attitude that had previously triumphed. Calvin S. Brice,

that I consulted with—that the election of Mr. Payne, himself an avowed protectionist, would be an injury to the party in the country, because we believed it would be giving a false position to the Democratic party on that leading issue that we had made in the state. The *Cleveland Leader*

although he had some years before established himself in New York City, awarded the honor to himself: the election formed a striking climax to a spectacular career. Thenceforth the new incumbent was resolved to make the fortunes of the Democratic party his own.

In temperament and attitude Brice presented points of contrast to his opponent, Mark Hanna. Whereas the latter impressed one as an aggressive and prosperous business man, Brice's wiry and slight stature suggested the type that secures results by indirect method. An abundance of sandy hair and a beard of similar nature bespoke his Scottish ancestry. A prominent nose and deep set sapphire eyes pronounced him a man of "generous disposition" and "singular mental alertness." Newspapers sometimes caricatured him as "the smartest man in America." His physical make-up and career presented a study in contrasts, and it was not completely out of the nature of things that this son of a Presbyterian minister, born in the Black Swamp wilderness of north-western Ohio, should become a master manipulator of industrial interests and politics.²⁷

and *Herald*, then a separate and independent paper, independent in the sense of not being merged at that time, and the *Sunday Voice*, edited by Mr. Hodge, had all begun vociferously to endorse and further the election of Mr. Payne. It was decided that I should go up to Cleveland and see if I could not pull off that Republican support from him . . . " *Senate Misc. Docs.*, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 106, p. 78.

In 1884 only three Ohio Democrats out of a total of fifteen in the House voted for the enacting clause of the Morrison Bill—a measure that provided for a horizontal reduction. *Cong. Rec.*, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 3908.

²⁷ Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 267 ff., contains an arraignment of Brice's character and methods. Mercer and Vallandigham, *Representative Men of Ohio*, pp. 28-36, and Winter, *History of Northwestern Ohio*, vol. I, p. 287 ff., contain brief biographies.

Brice's career in business, as that of Hanna, furnished an enlightening clue to his method and attitude in politics. After graduating from the Ann Arbor Law School he had attempted to establish a legal practice at Lima. A few years later he became associated with Foster, Samuel Thomas and others in various schemes of railroad promotion. Among others, the Ohio Central and the Nickel Plate roads were built, the former paralleling the Hocking Valley and the latter the New York Central. Through manipulation, each venture was made to realize munificent profits for their promoters; the returns on the latter road, which was sold to the Vanderbilts, were reputed to have enabled Brice to become a fixture on Wall Street.²⁸

Party traditions counted for little in the politics of such men as Brice.²⁹ His ideal, like Hanna's, was political results. "Reforms" or readaptations to the newer industrial age that looked to greater measures of popular justice were as foreign to his imagination as had been the building of railroads for legitimate public service. He had been active in Democratic politics since 1876, when he had been a delegate to the National Convention. In 1888, he escorted the Ohio delegation to the St. Louis Convention on a special train. He was chosen as the Ohio member of the National Democratic Committee and became the chairman of

²⁸ Brice's interests also extended to the promotion of a road in the Gogebic range, the Tennessee and Georgia Southern System and extensive enterprises in China.

Cf. Mercer and Vollandigham, *op. cit.*, p. 31 and Frank G. Carpenter's interview in *Buffalo Illustrated Express*, June 12, 1892.

²⁹ Myers relates that when Brice became a lawyer he and his partner flipped a coin in order to determine their respective party affiliations. Myers *op. cit.*, p. 269.

the Campaign Committee. In that capacity he sponsored a scheme of converting western states, especially Iowa, Wisconsin and Illinois to the Democratic ticket. He and his committee were suspected of party treason. Newspapers derisively caricatured him as the "Rainbow Chaser," and charges were made that he had become annexed to Quay's organization. After the election he imitated Zach. Chandler in 1876 in telegraphing that his candidates had been elected.

In claiming the Senatorial honor Brice had "paralleled" his competitors just as effectively as had the Payne agents six years earlier. Moreover, the candidate had been more directly connected with the manipulations. His associate in railroad affairs, Charles Foster, had been hopeful of obtaining the honor in case of Republican success. But the pupil bested the master, and the latter was compelled to accept a "lame duck" appointment in Harrison's cabinet.³⁰

But Democratic optimism aroused by the success of 1889 was short lived: Campbell's candidacy for re-election in 1891 was unable to withstand Hanna's efficiency. The young Governor's hopes, damaged by defeat, became evanescent as it became evident that the Hill forces of New York were to be over-ridden by Cleveland's renomination. The Ohio state delegation professed no common program beyond an expectation of acting "for the best interests of the party." Brice, Campbell, Lawrence T. Neal of Ross County and Robert Blee of Cuyahoga were chosen to head the delega-

³⁰ Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-293, outlines the activities of a bi-partisan machine in connection with Brice's election. For an account of Payne's attitude in the confirmation of Foster, see Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth*, p. 400.

tion. No one professed to know with any degree of accuracy just what was to be done. Brice, through his relationship with Gorman's "Senatorial Syndicate," was interested in any scheme which promised to defeat the ex-President's renomination. Newspapers circulated reports of his reputed offer to bet \$1,000 that Cleveland would be re-nominated and defeated. Campbell headed a faction of the state delegation that was known to be inclined to join Whitney's procession in reindorsing the ex-President. Henry Watterson at the same time declared that the former Ohio Governor was not so strong for Cleveland but that the Anti-Cleveland forces would be willing to support him.³¹ Cleveland's manager, however, had his organization of delegations completed in time to secure a renomination on the first ballot. The result indicated that every prominent candidate had made inroads among the Ohio delegates. Boies led with sixteen. Cleveland secured thirteen, Hill six, and Gorman and Carlisle secured five each. The delegation was not, therefore, sufficiently "in" in respect to the nomination to secure great influence with the administration after its inauguration.³²

Brice's grip upon his party became less firm with the progress of events during 1894 and 1895. Various

³¹ Interview in the *Chicago Post*, June 16, 1892. Campbell supported Cleveland.

³² The nearest approach to an outright sensation afforded by the Convention was an attempt of Neal, the Ohio member of the Committee on Resolutions, to secure a free trade plank in the platform. On the strength of his convention performance he was nominated for governor in opposition to McKinley the following year. His overwhelming defeat was a tribute to McKinley's rising popularity, and a result in part of the general reaction which was already setting in against the Cleveland administration.

forces began to crystallize against him in spite of a publicity campaign which he directed in support of his interests. As the "free silver" issue gained momentum various leaders, who had been compelled to stand aside in the past, grew in influence. Among them was Allen William Thurman,³³ who had been passed over as a delegate to the Convention in 1892 because he was too pronounced in his support of Cleveland. Another was General A. J. Warner of Marietta, who was willing to lead a crusade for silver irrespective of party lines. In the north-western section of the state, L. E. Holden expressed his convictions and defied Brice to declare explicitly for a single standard. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* endorsed "free silver" with an enthusiasm equal to that of 1876. Each joined in the common cause of attempting to force a specific declaration into the state platform of 1895. But Brice succeeded in procuring a statement as ambiguous as the one Sherman had at the same time written for the Republican platform. Thurman, who headed the opposition to Brice in the Convention and had failed, contented himself with picking phrases from the "revolving platform" which gave him comfort. Campbell was nominated for a third time, although he had insisted that he was "too poor" to make the contest.

Brice was compelled to ward off opposition from still another angle. His activity in the Senate, connected with his inability to make a creditable public address and an insistence that a citizen of "Yorkohio" could not speak for Ohio interests, compelled a counter publicity. His acts of public charity and interests in

³³ Son of the ex-Senator.

pension services to old soldiers became subject matter in many stereotyped editorials.³⁴ His remarks before the Democratic State Convention in 1895 were estab-



MARCUS ALONZO HANNA

United States Senator, March 6, 1897-January 15, 1904

lished as proof that he could acquit himself creditably in that respect. At that very moment, however, he

³⁴ The following defence was addressed from Washington and appeared in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* and a great number of other papers during the campaign of 1895: "There are over 15,000 (pension) cases on his books in which he is aiding the soldiers to secure pensions. A number of these have been allowed—some original, some renewals and many increases. His labors in this field have been prodigious, and when properly

had reached the zenith of his power.³⁵ His platform had been made the confession of faith of his party; and his name was beside the President's as deserving commendation in respect to the fight for tariff reform!³⁶ But the recurrent "Ohio idea" was rapidly passing beyond his control, and the preliminaries of the Democratic Convention in 1896 evinced a more stubborn determination to abandon the ambiguous phrasing of 1895.

Both Brice and Campbell had hoped that the silver "craze" would pass before the summer of 1896. The latter desired, as did McKinley, to make the tariff the pivot of popular interests during the campaign. He had, during the summer of 1895, been willing to declare for "free and unlimited coinage of silver," but insisted that it must be "AT ITS PROPER RATIO."³⁷ During the summer of 1896, however, a new and clever escape from the dilemma opened itself to conservative men of both parties. Campbell declared his willingness to accept it in an open letter to W. R. Hearst, dated June 4. His conviction was that free silver was inevitable, and that it should receive international acceptance at a convention to be called at Washington.

and thoroughly understood will call forth high praise rather than censure, and nobody knows this better than the many old soldiers whom he has served.

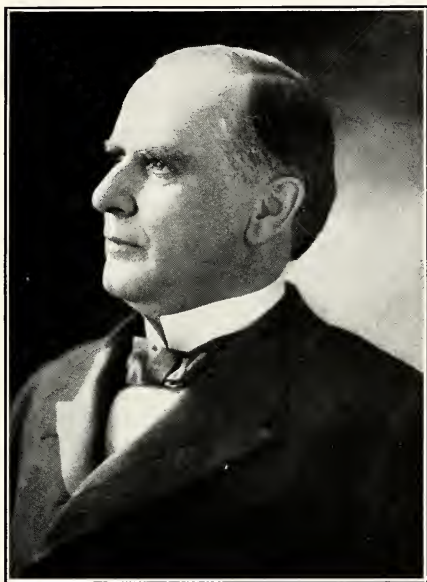
In January, 1893, he distributed 100 tons of coal and 100 barrels of flour to the poor of Lima. He received extensive newspaper publicity for the act.

³⁵ Mercer and Vollandigham state that Brice practically financed the campaign of 1895. Cf. Mercer and Vollandigham, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

³⁶ Brice, as a member of Gorman's "Senatorial Syndicate" which defeated the intentions of Cleveland's tariff program in 1894, was undoubtedly uppermost in the President's mind when he wrote his famous letter to Representative Catchings.

³⁷ Cf. Toledo *Bee*, May 14, 1895.

Tariff favors should be extended to those nations agreeing to the bimetallic standard; in case no nation agreed, the United States should declare for it on its



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Enlisted as Private in the War for the Union and rose to the rank of Captain; brevetted Major; Representative in Congress of the United States, March 4, 1877-May 27, 1884; March 4, 1885-March 3, 1891; Governor of Ohio, January 11, 1892-January 13, 1896; President of the United States, March 4, 1897-September 14, 1901; when he died, September 14, 1901, as a result of wounds at the hand of an assassin, September 6, 1901.

own responsibility and fix a date, "for instance, January 1, 1899, for meeting gold and silver on equal terms." He was not a candidate for the Presidency but would accept in case the nomination was tendered.

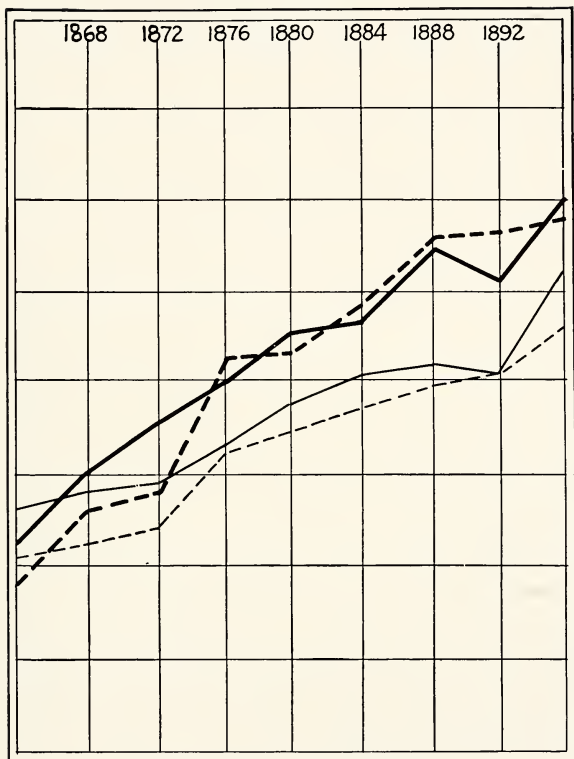
But the State Convention in 1896 fell completely under the control of the "sixteen to one" silver men. Brice and Campbell were completely routed. In consequence John R. McLean reached the height of his political influence; the state delegation was committed to his dictation, and he was recognized as the "favorite son" for the Presidency of the United States. Thurman was later vindicated through an appointment to the Committee on Resolutions. And the prospects continued favorable to an acceptance of the latest version of the "Ohio idea" and a nomination of a candidate who had unequivocally endorsed it.

The story of the Democratic Convention in Chicago is one of the most familiar in national history.³⁸ The outcome indicated definitely that the farmers and the masses who had been subjected to economic distress were ready to turn to the Federal government for a redress of their grievances. It was more than a mere demand for "soft money" for the sake of "repudiating" debts. Specific remedies had their place, but behind these was a general urge that the masses be given a greater share in the matter of governmental policies. Such ends naturally involved a direct threat to the order of things as they were.

While it is not the way of heresies, in any age, to be greatly concerned with the consequences of their doctrines upon established practices and creeds, neither is the heresy spared the distorting invective and ridicule at the hand of the intrenched power. These observations hold true in respect to the battle of 1896. The

³⁸ The nomination of William Jennings Bryan on a free coinage of silver platform.

POPULAR VOTE
IN
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
1864-1896



- Republican vote in Ohio.
 - - - - Democratic vote in Ohio.
 ——— Republican national vote.
 - - - - Democratic national vote.

The space between each two horizontal lines represents 100,000 votes for the state and 1,000,000 votes for the nation.

national credit system had assumed the form of a huge inverted pyramid, and men could only speculate as to the consequences in case silver inflation was made to strike at the base of the financial structure. "Bryan-ism" was therefore more than a taint of socialism; in terms of opposition propaganda, it even transcended repudiation: "the campaign from beginning to end was marked with such a flood of blasphemy, of taking God's name in vain, as this country, at least, has never known before. . . . Why, almost every appeal made by Bryan, or for him, has been addressed directly to the covetousness, the envy, and all the unhallowed passions of human nature."³⁹ Prominent clergymen joined in denouncing the dishonesty connected with paying debts in coin worth only fifty cents to the dollar. One declared the platform "had been made in hell" and another characterized Bryan as "a mouthing, slobbering demagogue, whose patriotism was all in his jawbone".⁴⁰ The candidate's frank appeal to class interest threatened to defy even the threats of unemployment that were thrust before the eyes of wavering laborers. Varied emotional and intellectual appeals were responsible for a great popular hesitation to embrace a program which promised the consequences of a revolution. Business men acknowledged their conviction as to the seriousness of the struggle through the magnitude of the campaign budget.

In time of depression, "prosperity" has an appeal like "peace" in time of war. In that fact Hanna found his opportunity. A publicity campaign was launched;

³⁹ New York *Tribune* quoted in Lingley, *Since the Civil War*, p. 373.

⁴⁰ Bryan, *The First Battle*, pp. 473-474.

its object was to make Republicanism, protectionism and prosperity synonymous with the candidacy of William McKinley. The slogan became a living symbolism through newspaper editorials and cartoons; it fixed itself upon the popular imagination much as the colors of the rainbow fired the enthusiasm of the ancient Hebrews in time of flood. It was an altogether fitting climax to the gospel of Republicanism which had been in process since the foundation of the republic.

Other great labors were yet to be exacted, however, in case success were not to prove elusive. Powerful leaders must be reconciled to the proposed order in sufficient numbers to secure a coöperating organism. McKinley's attractive and ingratiating personality served good purposes in this respect.⁴¹ He was able to attract friends and admirers when they were most needed. Before eastern managers of political affairs had bestirred themselves, Hanna and McKinley with their co-workers had achieved substantial results. In order to devote his entire time to politics, Hanna withdrew from active business interests. He rented a house in Thomasville, Georgia, as a winter residence. He was joined by McKinley as a guest, and the latter was given an opportunity of ingratiating himself with influential southern leaders. Eastern managers were beaten at their own game in seizing these "rotten boroughs" as political pawns. According to Platt, "He [Hanna] had

⁴¹ H. H. Kohlsaatt relates a story illustrative of a rare quality in human nature. McKinley was approached by an office seeker whose request could not be granted. Before dismissing the applicant McKinley presented him with a flower from the button hole of his coat as a token for his wife. The man went away happier than if the original request had been granted. *Saturday Evening Post*, May 13, 1922.

the South practically solid before some of us waked up.”⁴² Various western states were brought to McKinley’s support by devious methods. Pro-McKinley organizations were established in every state worthy of the contest, and no opportunity was overlooked in representing McKinley’s nomination as inevitable.⁴³ All were encouraged to join the procession while that action appeared to be a rational choice rather than a belated act of necessity.

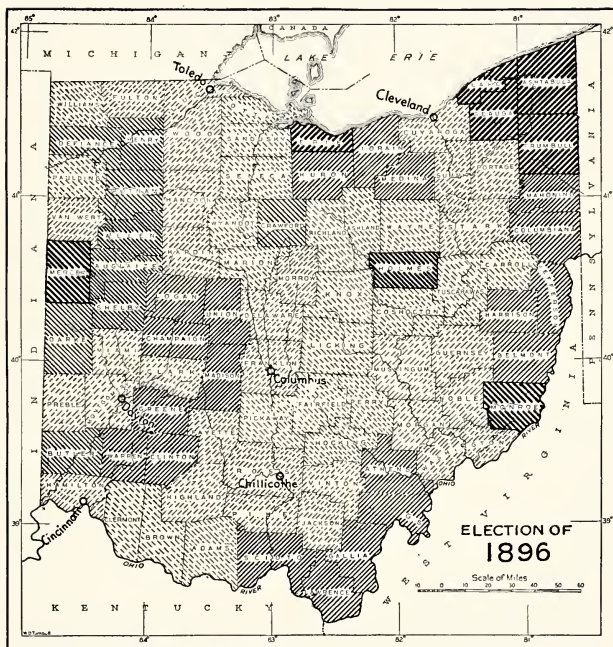
The canvass was not without its periods of discouragement. Shortly before McKinley made his canvass for the governorship in 1893, a friend, whose business was secured by the Governor’s signature, went into bankruptcy. It was soon discovered that McKinley’s liabilities were many times greater than he could hope to meet. Friends came immediately to the rescue; criticism was forestalled; the obligations were more than met; and McKinley’s reputation for honesty was effectively enhanced.⁴⁴ People of limited means expressed their esteem in contributing collectively a considerable sum. The Governor’s re-election was subsequently secured by the largest majority accorded any candidate since the defeat of Vallandigham in 1863.

Another source of danger became evident when the “bosses” of other states became fully aware of the progress of the McKinley “Boom.” Various devices were sprung on all hands in order to offset a political

⁴² Platt, *Autobiography*, p. 331.

⁴³ Croly, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIV, is an excellent detailed description of Hanna’s and McKinley’s efforts.

⁴⁴ Cf. Kohlsaat’s account in the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 13, 1922, and Olcott, *Life of William McKinley*, Vol. I, pp. 288-292.



Republican 
 Democratic 

The comparative majorities are indicated by shading—the heavier lines representing the larger majorities.

movement which had not been made with due reference to the confronted interests. "Favorite son" candidacies were encouraged in various sections of the union in order to effect an opportunity for an alliance along more acceptable lines. Hanna's organization of the "Solid South" was endangered, and there was no way of determining just how far the opposition was proving effective.⁴⁵ McKinley's popularity continued to gain strength, however, and opposition gradually weakened in the face of it.

But, notwithstanding the growing popularity of the candidate and the many circumstances favoring Hanna's plans, there were difficulties yet to be overcome. The irrepressible Foraker gained control of the State Convention in 1895, and, with the aid of George B. Cox, who had placed Cincinnati under machine control, put through his slate as the state ticket. All state precedents were broken when a resolution was passed endorsing Foraker as a candidate for the Senate.⁴⁶ Although Foraker had succeeded in taking control of the state organization, which was to cause Hanna trouble in the future, McKinley was duly endorsed for the Presidential nomination.

While the silver issue was wrecking the Cleveland administration, it carried serious threats at the same time for the Republicans. The party threatened to divide just as the Democrats had done. McKinley's record had been equivocal in the past; he had voted for the Bland free-silver bill in 1877 and for the passage of the Bland-

⁴⁵ Cf. Croly, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIV.

⁴⁶ Foraker had, however, attempted to secure such a resolution in 1891.

Allison act over the veto of President Hayes in 1878. And his recent commitments on the subject had been designed to allay the demands for silver.⁴⁷ The State Convention met early in the campaign year, and the nation awaited eagerly an announcement of the program. But a resort was made to ambiguous phrasing regarding "sound" and "untarnished" currency, and the use of both metals to be "kept at a parity by legislative restrictions"—phrases which had become all but threadbare by services in platforms of both parties in the past.

McKinley's unwillingness to depart radically from his support of a bi-metallic standard promoted rather than retarded his candidacy. The resurrection of his silver record, for example, enabled at least one western state to instruct its delegates for him and at the same time declare for the free and unlimited coinage of silver.⁴⁸ Various spokesmen for the party were able to impute for their constituencies whatever doctrines best suited their purposes. Sherman was generously quoted by magazines and newspapers alike in support of the can-

⁴⁷Cf. *Speeches and Addresses of William McKinley*, p. 454. June 25, 1890, McKinley declared: "I do not want gold at a premium, I do not want silver at a discount, or vice versa, but I want both metals, side by side, equal in purchasing power and in legal tender quality, equal in power to perform the functions of money with which to do the business and move the commerce of the United States." He frequently commended the Sherman Law of 1890 as one which "purchases all the silver product of the United States and utilizes it as a part of the money currency of the country." Cf. Tippecanoe banquet speech as reported in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, April 1, 1891.

⁴⁸ Croly, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

didate's "soundness" on finances.⁴⁹ McKinley continued to hope, even until the time of the National Convention, that the currency issue would be subordinated to that of protection.⁵⁰

The duty of reconciling "gold" to McKinley's candidacy, without at the same time creating too great a defection among the "silver" men, devolved upon Hanna. Although convinced on his own part, of the vital relationship between gold as a standard of values to banking operations, political expediency demanded that he appear to have his hand forced in regard to the matter. This was astutely managed in the Convention; and various other political managers were left to dispute among themselves the credit for the gold plank in the party platform.⁵¹ Hanna at any rate gained his great objective; a spectacular silver defection was precipitated, but it was undoubtedly kept within the lowest possible proportions under the circumstances.⁵² But even then McKinley was not satisfied but that the financial decla-

⁴⁹ An editorial extract from the Cincinnati *Commercial*, (May 1, 1896) was typical of the method of assuring anti-silver men that they had nothing to fear from McKinley: "We have not had the least doubt, at any time, that he was opposed to the free coinage of silver. We care not for any vote he may have given in the past. The logic of events has taught him as it has others, that free silver means ruin to the great interests and industries of the country."

⁵⁰ Croly, *op. cit.*, p. 193 ff.

⁵¹ Platt, Lodge, Kohlsaat and Foraker, each, claimed primary credit for the performance. Cf. Croly, *op. cit.*, Chapter XV; Foraker, *op. cit.*, I, Chapter XXVIII; Kohlsaat's article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 27, 1922, and Platt, *Autobiography*, p. 313 ff.

⁵² Disaffected California leaders could, for example, direct their constituents to the promised hope of an increased tariff on citrus fruits. Kohlsaat, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

ration had been altogether too explicit.⁵³ The Bryan movement gathered momentous headway during August and September; and men familiar with the situation believed that, had the election been held at that time, the Nebraskan would have been elected. Nothing less than an intensive campaign to rectify the popular judgment could change the tide and save the day.

While Bryan traveled thousands of miles and appealed directly to the masses with telling results, McKinley remained at his home in Canton. He received a constant stream of delegations, and exercised care that no untoward incidents should arise to create embarrassments. At the same time an army of speakers was organized; literature, posters and buttons were distributed by the car-load. The relative merits of gold and silver became matters of discussion even among school-boys. The Republican party drew heavily from the great banking and business interests to meet the sudden demand for financial "education." Before the close of the campaign the Democratic tide had begun to ebb.

Mathematically, the election result was decisive. Bryan was defeated by a half million votes, and he did not carry one state identified primarily with industrialism nor any of the large cities where the great wealth of the nation was concentrated. But the defeated candidate was inclined to be optimistic and regarded the rebuff as merely the results of "The First Battle". He found a measure of comfort in reflecting that the electoral college, a device that had been devised to check irresponsible selections of Presidents, might have secured him a favorable majority had 20,000 more Democratic

⁵³ Croly, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

votes been cast in critical districts.⁵⁴ The cause of "free silver" had been defeated; but it was not a definite measure of discontent that had failed to embrace "Bryanism" as a remedy for grievances.

The contest of 1896 may be regarded as marking a distinct epoch in national history. Many thoughtful men, who did not commit themselves to the silver program, were free in admitting that Bryan forces had been recruited because of certain untoward features in the economic structure. They were alarmed by Bryan's appeal to class and sectional interests; the respects in which the economic structure of society had thrust itself through the veneer of party organization were disquieting. For men had in a groping manner become conscious that certain forces had made inroads upon spheres of freedom which they had formerly held even above the government's intrusion.⁵⁵ The conviction that politicians had been playing fast and free with popular grievances in return for political favor had a foundation in fact. After three decades the shadows of the sectional conflict had lifted, and in a less hampered atmosphere a new humanistic doctrine was in the way of asserting itself. The election had taken place at the very time that the agricultural frontier was no longer affording an outlet for social pressure. The party in power had a manifold obligation in taking an inventory of resources to be commanded in making valid for the future the traditional promises of national life.

⁵⁴Bryan, *op. cit.*, pp. 606-607.

⁵⁵For a contemporary estimate of the social significance of the "Political Menace of the Discontented" see the *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 447-451.

The great referendum carried likewise a significant result in the political life of the commonwealth whose "favorite son" had been elevated to the Presidency. The tradition of the "Ohio man" appeared to have been vindicated. But of greater significance was the transition which had taken place since the close of the great sectional conflict. A defensive revolt against the advancement of the Industrial Revolution westward had been overridden; the state was clearly within the zone which had formed the stronghold of the dominant forces.

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OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY THE EDITOR

NEWLY ELECTED OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

HENRY CLYDE SHETRONE

Henry Clyde Shetrone was born in Millersport, Fairfield County, Ohio, August 10, 1876. He was educated in the public schools and attended Denison University. At an early age he became interested in archæology and museums and soon began gathering the literature relating to these.

In 1913, the opportunity came to him to engage actively in a work which had for years remained in the realm of his fondest desires. He was invited by Dr. William C. Mills, the late Director of the Society's Museum, to come into that institution as Assistant Curator of Archæology. In this position he at once engaged actively in mound explorations, and through the years following became practically and thoroughly acquainted with the prehistoric mounds and earthworks of the Ohio Valley. Under the direction of Dr. Mills he explored the Hopewell Group, the Seip Group, and others of less importance. His publications include the official reports of explorations, as set forth in volume IV

of the series, *Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio*; a volume entitled, *The Indian in Ohio*, and a number of contributions to magazines and the press. He is, at present, engaged in the preparation of a book on the Mound



HENRY CLYDE SHETRONE

Builders, which will later be issued by an eastern publisher.

Mr. Shetrone is a veteran of the War with Spain, in which he was affiliated with the Signal Corps Service. After the War, he remained three years in Cuba as man-

ager and superintendent of telegraph for the Cuban government. He subsequently was engaged in newspaper work prior to his appointment as Assistant Curator of Archæology.

Soon after Dr. William C. Mills was elected Director of the Society, which took place on October 18, 1921, Mr. Shetrone was made Curator of Archæology. On February 24, 1928, he was elected by the Board of Trustees Director of the Museum of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

The Society is fortunate in having a man of Mr. Shetrone's experience who is so especially fitted to carry on the work inaugurated by Dr. Mills.

HARLOW LINDLEY—LIBRARIAN AT SPIEGEL GROVE

Harlow Lindley, recently elected librarian of the Hayes Memorial Library at Spiegel Grove State Park, Fremont, Ohio, was born in Sylvania, Parke County, Indiana, May 31, 1875. He was educated in the public schools, at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, and for brief periods in the University of Wisconsin and the University of Chicago.

He received the degree of A. M. from Earlham College, in 1899, and the degree of Litt. D. from Hanover College, Hanover, Indiana, in 1923.

From 1899 to the beginning of the present year, he was librarian at Earlham College and Professor of History and Political Science in that institution from 1905. He was Director of the Department of History and Archives of the Indiana State Library from 1907-1923; Director of the Indiana Historical Commission 1923-1924. He is a member of the American Historical As-

sociation, the American Political Science Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. He has written much on historical subjects relating chiefly to Indiana and the Northwest Territory.



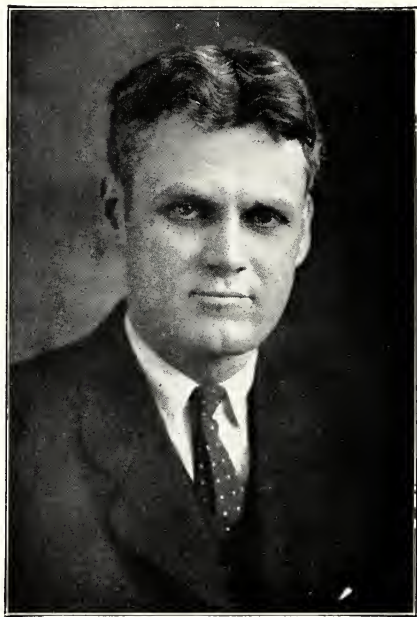
HARLOW LINDLEY

Soon after his election he moved with his family to Fremont, Ohio, and entered actively upon the duties of his new position.

EMERSON F. GREENMAN

Emerson F. Greenman was born at Owosso, Michigan, September 10, 1895. He was educated in the public schools of his native state and in the University of Michigan, from which he received his degree of Ph. D.

in 1927. For some years past he has been engaged in anthropological and archæological research work in Michigan. Recently he completed a catalogue of the Michigan Pioneer Museum at Lansing and was en-



EMERSON F. GREENMAN

gaged in preparing for the transfer of the Michigan University Museum of Anthropology to its new building in Ann Arbor. On February 24, 1928, he was chosen by the Board of Trustees to succeed Mr. Shetron as Curator of Archæology.

DEATH OF SENATOR FRANK BARTLETTE WILLIS

On the evening of March 28, 1928, when he was about to deliver an address in his campaign for the nomination of President of the United States, at a home-coming celebration in his honor at Gray Chapel, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, United States Senator Frank B. Willis was stricken and died while 2,500 of his friends and neighbors were waiting to hear him.

Senator Willis was born in Delaware County, Ohio, December 28, 1871.

The newspapers of the day following paid tribute to his character and worth. We quote here only a few lines from an editorial in the *Detroit Free Press*:

The death of Senator Frank B. Willis has robbed Ohio of a citizen of outstanding ability who served his state with distinction and with devotion, and who made his mark far beyond the border of his native commonwealth; it has deprived the Upper House of Congress of a member the body could ill afford to lose in these days of its diminishing prestige, when men of genuine senatorial size — and Mr. Willis unquestionably was such a man — are becoming fewer and fewer within the precincts of the chamber.

This testimonial from a paper and a state that were not supporting Senator Willis for the presidency conveys an intimation of the great loss that Ohio and the nation have sustained in his death. He was the friend of every worthy enterprise and institution in the state which he served with such distinguished ability. He was much interested in the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and seemed always alert to aid in its

upbuilding. To his sympathetic action was due the prompt transfer to this Museum of the silver service and bell of the Battleship *Ohio*, when that vessel was scrapped in accordance with the Washington Conference agreement for the limitation of naval armaments. It was at a suggestion from his office that Dr. J. Morton Howell, the first Minister from the United States to Egypt, gave to the Museum the Egyptian mummy which attracts many visitors. From his office also came bound volumes of the *Congressional Record* covering the entire period of the World War and numerous other valuable documents.

Ohio officials, generally, have been good friends to the Society. None has been a better friend than Senator Frank B. Willis.

More may be said of him in these columns later. Less should not be said of him now.

JUST JUDGMENTS

There was a time when American history and biography written by American authors was a continued paean of praise. In the opinion of disinterested judges recent tendencies have been toward the opposite extreme. Our modern writers are devoting much time to the delinquencies of the so-called great. They are looking for the spots on the sun. They are examining newspapers and manuscript records with the evident purpose of showing weakness in the character of the public men of the past. So far as this tendency of the moderns is a reminder that the wise and good and great were not always so, that they had alloys of human foibles and

frailties, that they had much in common with men whom we have all known in public life, — the modern tendency may be defended. It has its limitations, however.

It will be unfortunate indeed if the rising generation concludes from the portrayal that some modern writers are placing before us, that the men who have attained eminence in the public service have been masquerading in an attractive veneer to conceal their hypocrisy and rascality. The worth of a public servant is determined by his achievement. His character is revealed in the sum total of his life and activities. It is not fair to judge a public servant by the mean things that are said of him in the heat of a public campaign by his partisan opponents; or by his factional opponents in contests within his party. If these were taken as a standard of judgment our statesmen of the past and present would present a very sordid and sorry picture in the history of our state and nation.

In this connection the Editor wishes to make a few observations on the principal contribution to this issue of the *QUARTERLY*. Dr. Moore devotes much space to the activities of prominent Ohioans in political conventions and campaigns. He has industriously and faithfully reported critical opinions of leaders prominent in the history of our state. Many whose opinions he has quoted were not themselves prominent and some belonged to the class that might properly be denominated "obscure." This of itself does not necessarily detract from their testimony. It must be remembered, however, as we have observed in a few notes on this contribution, that many of these opinions were pronounced under circumstances that were not favorable to just judgments. It would be

a serious mistake to reach conclusions in regard to the men thus criticised on the basis of their partisan or factional detractors — as unjust as to pass an opinion on the fulsome laudation of their supporters.

After the criticisms of John Sherman that were aimed at him almost continuously through his notable and at times stormy career, the student and impartial reader will not forget his early espousal of the cause of the liberation of the slave; his loyal and effective support of the Union through the Civil War; and his great service in the United States Senate and the cabinet of President Hayes that was so potent in bringing about a resumption of specie payments and the establishment of our monetary system upon a more substantial basis.

Nor will they forget the service of James A. Garfield in the Civil War; his courageous advocacy of a sound and stable currency in the Congress of the United States; and his effort, as President, to give the people a wise and just administration, a service in which he died with the words, "*Strangulatus pro Republica*" on his lips — "Tortured for the Republic."

They will not forget the services of Joseph Benson Foraker in the office of Governor and the United States Senate where his service in behalf of the liberation of Cuba entitles him to enduring fame. When the Cuban cause was in the balance in the upper branch of the American Congress, when the position of the administration itself was in doubt in regard to certain features of the Cuban question, the voice of Foraker rang out distinctly without equivocation or compromise in favor of the independence of Cuba. The attitude of the United States government with reference to Cuba is remem-

bered by the people of that Island with gratitude, and with respect by the civilized world. No man had more to do with the altruistic settlement of the War with Spain, so far as Cuba is concerned, than had Senator Foraker.

Nor will they forget William McKinley, who in the United States Congress labored long for the upbuilding of the industrial interests of the country; who administered with increasing popularity the office of Governor; and whose services in the Presidency of the United States brought a re-election by overwhelming majorities to that high office. Like Garfield, he, too, gave his life to the service of his country.

Nor will the people forget Foster and Thurman and other leaders in both political parties who served their state and their country eminently and faithfully in the period following the Civil War — a period which, whatever the personal defects or delinquencies of those in eminent authority may have been, has been characterized by a progress unrivalled, we might say without exaggeration, in the history of the world.

To get a correct estimate of the men who have served in state and nation we must have the opinion of those who were their faithful followers, as well as of those who were their detractors. Fortunately, the materials are at hand from which historians of judicial temperament may arrive at just conclusions.

OHIO, SCENIC AND HISTORIC

There is a growing interest in places of local scenic beauty and historic association. "See Ohio First," is now an effective appeal. It has finally caught the attention of the public. The automobile has brought all parts

of the state within reach of a rapidly increasing number of its citizens and tourists from other states. The demand for information on points of local attractiveness, of course, keeps pace with the growing interest.

The issue of five thousand copies of *Scenic and Historic Ohio*, originally compiled by P. H. Elwood, former Professor of Landscape Architecture in Ohio State University, and published by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society in 1924, was promptly exhausted. A second edition of twenty-five thousand copies, published in the following year, is now almost all distributed. Provision will probably be made for its re-issue with corrections and additions.

The Ohio Department of Education is preparing a publication which will be illustrated by over three hundred cuts of interesting objects and sites in Ohio and accompanied by descriptive sketches. It will be available to the public. This will materially assist those wishing to select points to be visited.

PARTY POLITICS IN OHIO, 1840-1850*

BY EDGAR ALLAN HOLT, B. A., M. A., PH. D.

PREFACE

It has been my purpose in this study to trace the political history of Ohio during the 'forties in relation to state and national problems. The period under investigation affords an interesting cross section of American political history, revealing appeals to party prejudice, conflicting economic and social interests, political manipulations and "log-rollings," and the emergence of the Northwest as a powerful section demanding in vigorous terms a new consideration in the councils of the National Government. The period also marks the growing divergence of northern and southern interests which ended in the Civil War, for the Northwest, like the South, was developing a peculiar sectionalism which threatened the integrity of the Union. Ohio's economic interests and the personal ambitions of her political leaders seemed to be menaced by southern combinations. The press of both parties breathed open defiance to the slaveholder, although the wealthier classes of southern Ohio deprecated the agitation of a question which threatened their commercial connections in the South. Probably of greater importance was the growing conflict be-

* Dissertation presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University.

tween the masses of the people and the privileged classes. Although Ohio had lost many of the characteristics of a frontier state, the followers of Jackson still dominated this commonwealth at the opening of the decade. This control was only temporarily challenged by the fantastic Whig Log Cabin campaign of 1840 and the Democracy reasserted its power within a year after that episode. But the growing conservatism among the professional classes and men of wealth during this decade prevented the Democratic party from advocating extreme measures and transformed the Whig party into a still more reactionary organization. Throughout the decade the struggle of the radicals and conservatives furnished the underlying motive on state issues. If the Liberty and Free Soil parties aided the forces of liberalism, this was not because a majority of those parties favored a greater degree of democracy, but because these minor parties tended to break up the conservative Whig party, and thus enabled the radical elements to realize their program.

My materials have been drawn from the Ohio State University Library, the Library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, the Library of the Archæological and Historical Society of Ohio, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The officials of these institutions have been most helpful in placing their materials at my disposal.

I wish to acknowledge my obligations and express my deep appreciation for those who have directed my studies either in the way of helpful advice or formal instruction. I owe especial obligations to Professor Carl Wittke, of the Ohio State University, who directed the course of my researches, for his kindly advice on the

gathering of the materials for this study and for his helpful and penetrating criticisms of the dissertation itself.

EDGAR ALLAN HOLT,
Ohio State University,
June, 1928.

CHAPTER I

THE ELECTION OF 1840 IN OHIO

Ohio, the first fruit of the Ordinance of 1787, entered the Union in 1803. By that Ordinance, it was determined that Ohio's economic growth should be based on free rather than slave labour. This factor became the basis of the later alignment of the State in opposition to the South. However, the proximity of Ohio to slave-holding States forced it to adopt a conciliatory policy toward the slave system in order to retain close commercial relations with the South. Throughout the early history of the State, southern Ohio and particularly Cincinnati, the commercial metropolis of the State, were anxious to ally the economic and political interests of Ohio with those of the South.

Richly endowed with a fertile soil and numerous streams suitable for navigation, Ohio experienced a rapid growth in wealth and in population. Although this economic development was primarily agricultural, thriving factories soon grew up at such points as Cincinnati, Zanesville, Chillicothe, and Steubenville. After the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, Cleveland became the entrepot of raw farm products from northern Ohio destined for New York and the distribution point of eastern manufactured products bound for the Northwest.

The expansion of the factory system in Ohio, which resulted from the federal tariffs of 1816, 1824, and 1828, led to a demand for an extended market. The commer-

cial needs of southern Ohio were met by the southern slave system which afforded a market for the food supplies and manufactured products of the Ohio Valley. This situation produced an economic alliance between southern Ohio and the slave states which explains much of the political differences between the former and northern Ohio which was bound to New York by commercial ties.

Up to 1850 the tremendous development of the wealth of Ohio was due largely to the construction of a network of one thousand miles of canals through thirty-seven counties, connecting Lake Erie and the Ohio River by two continuous routes, one with terminals at Cleveland on the Lake and Portsmouth on the Ohio and the other joining Toledo and Cincinnati. By 1850, Ohio ranked third among the states in the cash value of her farms, Cincinnati was the chief packing center in the West, the annual value of the products of the gristmills and sawmills of Ohio was more than \$9,000,000, and the total capital investment of the State in banking institutions and in the manufacturing of such articles as hardware, iron, crockery; and in the packing of meats, had grown from \$4,000,000 in 1822 to \$28,000,000. At the same time the population had increased to 2,000,000, most of whom were located in counties served by Lake Erie, the Ohio River, and the canals. In 1850, Cincinnati had a population of 115,000 drawn from all parts of the United States and Europe, and Hamilton County held almost one-third of all the European immigrants who came to the State.

The source of Ohio's population determined the political history of the State, producing sectional lines

almost as marked as those dividing the sections from which each of the elements came. One of the largest single elements entering into the racial composition of the State's population was the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky. The Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania overflowed into central and eastern Ohio in quest of fertile lands as soon as the region was opened to settlement, while those from Kentucky settled in the southern portion of the State. The latter were composed largely of the poorer, more democratic and non-slave-holding classes of the South, many of whom were opposed to slavery and all of whom were anxious to better their economic situation. Chaddock asserts that "The influence of this Scotch-Irish stock in southern Ohio was very marked. They brought with them their religion; they asserted their ideas of individual freedom and economic independence, and they supported the political principles of Jefferson and the rising democracy."¹ Another element was the Germans, who came in large numbers both from Pennsylvania as a part of the frontier class, and, during the 'forties, directly from Germany. Although scattered over the State in respectable numbers, a large proportion of the Germans settled in Cincinnati. Most of them formed a close political alliance with the Scotch-Irish followers of Jefferson and Jackson, opposing corporate interests and a high protective tariff during the later 'thirties. Another, but smaller element, was the Quakers who came to Ohio from Virginia and North Carolina as a result of their lack of sympathy with the slave system.

¹Robert E. Chaddock, "Ohio Before 1850," in *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, v. XXXI, p. 33.

Probably the most distinctive contribution in this mixture of Ohio's population was the settlement of New Englanders on the Western Reserve. As a result, the Reserve became the backbone of opposition to Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy until 1848 when the voters of that section became convinced that the Whig party was the tool of the "slave power."

From the earliest days of its organization as a State, Ohio was dominated by the followers of Jefferson. This unanimity of sentiment tended to disappear after 1812, and crystallized into definite political parties after 1824, when the economic needs of the West enabled Clay and Adams to unite the East and West in behalf of a program calling for a high protective tariff and internal improvements.² This coalition threatened to dominate the political situation, but the frontier character of Ohio made its conquest by the Jacksonian Democracy a comparatively easy task. The masses of the people, filled with the frontier dislike for banking institutions, rallied behind Jackson in his war on the United States Bank. But as Ohio increased in wealth, the conservative forces gathered strength and began to oppose the levelling tendencies of the Democracy with some degree of success. Moreover, Jackson's popularity did not descend to Van Buren, his designated successor, and the Panic of 1837 prepared the way for a general debacle in the ranks of the Democracy.³ To the Whigs, it appeared that the

²Eugene H. Roseboom, "Ohio in the Presidential Election of 1824," in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, v. XXVI, pp. 153-224.

³For a resumé of the political situation in Ohio before 1840, I have relied upon Eugene H. Roseboom's "Ohio Politics in the 1850's," a doctoral dissertation in the course of preparation at Harvard University. See also Chaddock, *op. cit.*, in *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics*

widespread distress which resulted from that panic was caused by the Democratic program of a "war on the currency." The Whigs therefore hoped to appeal for support to an increasingly large number of laborers thrown out of work by the effects of the financial depression which continued throughout the remainder of Van Buren's term.

The Van Buren administration had scarcely begun in 1837 when the opposition party began to lay plans for the next campaign.⁴ The problem for the Whigs was to unite under one leader the discontented Democrats, the land tenants of New York who were dissatisfied with the old patroon system, the abolitionists, the friends of Harrison, Clay and Webster; and those along the northern border who felt that Van Buren was a tool of the British because he had not avenged the burning of the *Caroline*.⁵

This incident grew out of the efforts of Canadian revolutionaries in 1837 to obtain American aid. The *Caroline*, an American vessel, which had been engaged in carrying supplies from Fort Schlosser, New York, to the Canadian rebels on Navy Island, was boarded and burned on the American side of the Niagara River by Canadian military authorities.⁶ There was intense ex-

and Public Law, v. XXXI; Homer J. Webster, "History of the Democratic Party Organization in the Northwest," in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, v. XXIV, pp. 1-120; Homer C. Hockett, *Western Influences on Political Parties to 1825*.

⁴ A convention of the Ohio Whigs as early as 1837 suggested a national convention for the following year to select candidates for the campaign of 1840. *Niles' Register*, v. LII, p. 329.

⁵ McMaster, John Bach, *A History of the People of the United States*, v. VI, p. 550.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. VI, pp. 440-441.

citement all along the northern border over this incident and because of the arrival of Canadian political refugees in the border towns, and the Whigs seized the opportunity to charge the Democrats with being pro-British. A war with England was happily averted by Van Buren who pursued the wise policy of enforcing strict neutrality along the border. To these discontented elements whom the Whigs sought to unite, must be added large numbers of voters who blamed the Panic of 1837 upon the Van Buren administration. Although the first political effects of the panic naturally were disastrous to the party in power, a distinct reaction set in in favor of the administration as the years passed. In New York a Whig majority of 15,000 in 1837 fell to 10,000 in 1838 and to 5,000 in 1839.⁷ In Ohio, the political current was running in the same direction and the Democrats won the state elections of October 1838 and 1839 on a policy of bank reform.⁸

Early in 1838, the Ohio Whigs began to put their faith in William Henry Harrison as the one candidate who could unite under his banner all the forces in opposition to the Van Buren administration. In January, 1839, the Belmont *Chronicle* put the slogan, "For President: William H. Harrison, Subject to a National Convention," at the head of its editorial column.⁹ The Whig State Convention of 1838 also endorsed Harrison, subject to the action of a national convention, but promised that the Whigs of Ohio would be satisfied also with

⁷ Greeley, Horace, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, p. 129.

⁸ *Ohio Statesman*, October to November, 1838; *Ibid.*, October to November, 1839.

⁹ January 1, 1839.

Clay or Webster.¹⁰ The Cincinnati *Republican*, a former Jackson paper edited by James Allen, came out so uncompromisingly for Harrison that it was warned by the Whig organ of the State to be more circumspect in order not to antagonize the Clay Whigs of the State.¹¹

The Whig program in Ohio was primarily one of unification. Availability, not principle, was the essential quality sought in prospective candidates. James Allen,¹² in control of the *Ohio State Journal* since April, 1839, deplored the "unfortunate centrifugal tendency" in the Whig party. "To be successful" in 1840, Allen declared, "nothing must be hazarded that shall tend, however remotely, to increase the dissonance and disaffection that, just now, disturb our ranks."¹³ On April 19th, the *Ohio State Journal* announced that it would support William Henry Harrison. The Whigs were agreed that it would be wise to concentrate early on one candidate, and thus prevent trouble between the followers of various rivals.

The friends of Webster were not without some hope of securing support in Ohio for their favorite, but William Greene, a prominent Whig leader of Cincinnati, assured them that western sentiment demanded a western candidate. In reply to queries as to what pledges

¹⁰ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), May 10, 1839.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, April 26, 1839.

¹² Allen stated that when he was editor of the Cincinnati *Republican* he endorsed Jackson's vetoes and abused Hammond of the *Gazette* "with a political unction that must have been truly edifying to the enemies of poor Nick Biddle." When Jackson removed the deposits from the United States Bank in 1834, Allen resigned as editor of the *Republican* because he disapproved of the removal. He then raised Harrison's name over the editorial columns of the Cincinnati *Courier*, the first Harrison paper in Ohio. *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), April 26, 1839.

¹³ *Ohio State Journal*, (Semi-weekly), April 12, 1839.

Harrison would make concerning Webster, Greene skillfully replied that "He does not choose to pledge himself to any human being . . . nor will he say what he would probably do. But there are delicate modes of intimation which have, if possible, *more* than the authority of express terms—and my opinion is (and I believe no human has better means of forming a correct one upon this particular) that if the General be elected to the Presidency, he would not only prefer, but rely upon it, that Mr. Webster should hold the first place in his cabinet relations."¹⁴

Although the Whig State Central Committee, on May 21, 1839, in an official call for delegates to a National Convention in Harrisburg six months later, gave its support to Harrison,¹⁵ the Clay forces of Ohio, led by Charles Hammond, were not ready before October to admit the defeat of their hero.¹⁶ The Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* refused to join in the hue and cry for Harrison, and during Clay's tour in the Northeast printed daily accounts of his speeches and triumphal receptions.¹⁷ Clay's candidacy seemed to gather strength until he reached Saratoga. Here he met Thurlow Weed, who informed him that he could not carry New York and that for the good of the party he should withdraw from the contest.¹⁸ It was impossible to stem the Har-

¹⁴ Greene to Lovering, May 28, 1839, Greene MSS.

¹⁵ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), May 21, 1839. The members of the State Central Committee were Alfred Kelley, chairman; Joseph Ridgway, Warren Jenkins, Lewis Heyl, and Samuel Douglass.

¹⁶ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, October 4, 1839.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, August 16, September 3, 1839.

¹⁸ McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VI, p. 555.

rison current.¹⁹ Clay was not deserted on account of a lack of faith in his program but on grounds of political expediency. Union was necessary and it seemed unlikely that Clay could unite all the fragments of the opposition. The Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, moreover, frankly acknowledged that "Clay is not popular with the people, a fact demonstrated twice, in direct appeals to their suffrage. Then, as now, his friends stood stiff in pertinacity—ought they now after two signal defeats, to press their favorite again, without some tangible, indisputable change of position, favorable to his success." As a fatal objection to Clay, especially for the Jackson men whom it was necessary to conciliate, was the persistent charge of "the corrupt bargain" of 1824, when Clay had turned his strength to Adams and helped to defeat Jackson for the presidency.²⁰ Harrison leaders paid fulsome compliments to Clay in order to take away the sting of defeat and obtain the support of his followers.²¹ The middle ground taken by the *Ohio State Journal* in the interest of a perfect reconciliation of all factions was somewhat distasteful to the Clay papers in northern Ohio and to the rabid Harrison papers in the southern portion of the State;²² but as the summer wore on, the former fell into line for Harrison.²³

There was some sentiment in the State for Winfield

¹⁹ The Carroll *Free Press* in May declared that Harrison was more popular with the "bone and sinew" than any other man whom the Whigs could name. Carroll *Free Press* quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), May 14, 1839.

²⁰ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, October 4, 1839.

²¹ Chillicothe *Gazette* quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), May 14, 1839; Circleville *Herald* quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), May 10, 1839.

²² *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), May 31, 1839.

²³ *Ibid.*, June 4, 1839.

Scott, but the *Ohio State Journal* shared the view of the *Baltimore Chronicle* that it was too late to introduce new and untried champions into the field.²⁴ Oran Follett,²⁵ a Clay Whig, considered Scott a good candidate to attract former Jackson Democrats, after he saw that there was no enthusiasm among the Whigs of Ohio for his favorite. In September, as a delegate to a district convention to name representatives to the Harrisburg Convention, Follett had announced his preference for Clay as the most politically available candidate.²⁶ Hardly two weeks later, Follett was urging George H. Flood of Virginia, a Democrat, and James T. Morehead, a former Whig governor of Kentucky, to support General Scott, apparently on the ground that Clay could not win for the party in 1840, because the anti-Administration Democrats would not rally to his support.²⁷ The Scott candidacy was never very significant in this State, and by November only two papers in Ohio, the *Conneaut Gazette* and the *Sandusky Whig* (edited by Follett) were openly in favor of Scott's nomination.²⁸ The selection of delegates to the Harrisburg Convention revealed an overwhelming sentiment for Harrison in Ohio. By November, 1839, of the one hundred Whig papers

²⁴ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), April 12, 1839.

²⁵ Follett was a staunch Whig leader in Ohio throughout the decade. Originally from New York, he became, upon removal to Ohio, editor, first of the *Sandusky Whig* and then of the *Ohio State Journal*, and later a leader of the Corwin movement for the presidency.

²⁶ Follett and Camp to the chairman of the District Whig Convention, September 30, 1839, quoted in "Selections from the Follett Papers, IV" in *Quarterly Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, 1916, v. XI, No. 1, pp. 15-16.

²⁷ Follett to Morehead, October 18, 1839, quoted in "Selections from the Follett Papers, IV," *loc. cit.*, v. XI, No. 1, pp. 18-20.

²⁸ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), November 13, 1839.

in the State, five supported Clay, two clung to Scott, and the rest favored "Harrison and Reform."²⁹

The defeat of the Whigs on the banking and currency issue in the fall elections of 1839 created havoc in the party in Ohio, and led Follett to comment bitterly on the "state of the public morals, the heresies in government, and the ignorant prejudices of the multitude in relation to the Treasury . . ."³⁰ The chief issue between the two parties in 1839 had been one of the extent to which the government should go in regulating the banks of the State, which had undergone a succession of failures since 1837. The Democrats favored a vigorous program of reform but the Whigs were inclined to defend the banks, asserting that their opponents really intended to destroy the currency.³¹ The defeat of the Whigs was attributed to various forces. The St. Clairsville *Chronicle* blamed the supineness of the Whigs,³² and the Cincinnati *Gazette* refused to close its eyes to the fact that the party was prostrate, and suggested that the Harrisburg Convention fold up the Whig banners forever.³³

In spite of such pessimistic conclusions, delegates were appointed to the Whig National Convention at Harrisburg. Foremost among the representatives from Ohio were Jacob Burnet, of Cincinnati; Reasin Beall, of Wooster; the sturdy John Johnson, of Piqua, who

²⁹ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), November 20, 1839.

³⁰ Follett to Morehead, October 18, 1839, quoted in "Selections from the Follett Papers, IV," *loc. cit.*, 1916, v. XI., No. 1, p. 19. The *Ohio State Journal* exclaimed in despair that "It seems like madness to contend against an overwhelming fate—against a force that is sure to crush us." *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), October 16, 1839.

³¹ See Chapter II.

³² *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), October 16, 1839.

³³ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, November 7, 9, 1839.

rode to Harrisburg on horseback; and N. G. Pendleton, of Cincinnati, who served on the committee to select the officials of the Convention. When the Convention assembled, Clay had the greatest number of pledged delegates, but there were indications that the political managers were not willing to have him lead the party again in 1840. On the second day of the balloting, New York, Michigan, and Vermont transferred their support from Scott to Harrison and thus brought about his nomination, much to the satisfaction of the Ohio delegates, who had voted steadily for their favorite son. The Convention then nominated John Tyler of Virginia for vice-president.³⁴ The Convention recommended a rally of the Whig young men of the nation at Baltimore and then adjourned, without drawing up an address to the people or framing a platform.³⁵ This proved to be good political strategy, because any program would have divided the Whigs and made defeat certain. Party leaders in each section of the country thus were left free to stress those political considerations which most appealed to the voters of their particular section. To the Whigs of Ohio, the election of 1840 was a referendum on "Executive usurpation." They condemned the frequency with which Jackson and Van Buren had resorted to the veto as a usurpation of power which belonged only to Congress.

The nomination of Harrison and Tyler was received with great enthusiasm in Ohio. "Now is the winter of

³⁴ *Niles' Register*, v. LXI, p. 232; Tyler, Lyon G., *The Letters and Times of the Tylers*, v. I, p. 595.

³⁵ Proceedings in Weekly *Ohio State Journal*, December 14, 1839; McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VI, pp. 556-559.

our discontent made glorious summer by the nomination of this son of a Revolutionary sire," the Belmont *Chronicle* declared. "Now do we breathe freer and deeper than we have for the last three years."³⁶ The Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* saw in Harrison's nomination certain defeat for the "fell disorganizing spirit" of "locofocoism" and the "certain restoration of sound republican doctrines; the security of our institutions."³⁷ Spontaneous and enthusiastic gatherings were held all over the State to respond to the nomination. At a convention in Cincinnati on December 16, speakers who had supported Clay pledged their support of the nominees.³⁸ The earlier despondency of the Whigs now turned into confidence and all elements of the opposition found it easy to support a candidate whose principles no one knew. Reform of the "aristocratic" government of Van Buren became the catch-phrase of the hour, and in this program State Rights men, led by John G. Miller in the *Ohio Confederate and Old School Republican*, as well as Jacksonians, discontented for various reasons with the Van Buren administration, and Nationalist Whigs could join heartily in the great attempt to oust the Democrats. The *Ohio Statesman*, chief Democratic organ of the State, pointed out quite correctly, that "The Federal party has no policy of its own—no principles—no cohesion—no unity of sentiment upon which to found a campaign, or concentrate their forces for action,"³⁹ and attributed the nomination of Harrison

³⁶ December 17, 1839.

³⁷ December 14, 1839.

³⁸ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, December 16, 1839.

³⁹ December 10, 1839.

to a combination of abolitionism, "Bankery" and anti-masonry.⁴⁰

The Democrats, of course, could do nothing but renominate Van Buren. Their nominee had reached the White House because of the spell of Jackson's popularity, but he gradually had acquired an effective following of his own, while his policies were gradually accepted by the masses of Democratic voters in the North. In Ohio, resolutions of county and district conventions forecast the renomination of the Democratic president.⁴¹ The radical anti-bank faction of the party was in control of the party machinery in the State and was completely satisfied by Van Buren's policy toward the banks. The recommendation of an Independent Treasury, in the president's third annual message, had given Ohio Democrats their issue. Van Buren had attacked the suspension of specie payments, and had charged that it was not due to a lack of confidence in the banks, but that it had been brought about merely for the convenience of the banks. The President pointed to the widely expanded system of bank credit as evidence of the unsoundness of those institutions, and expressed the fear that capitalists were using the banking system, then in vogue, to exert powerful and insidious influence over the entire country. As a remedy for these evils, Van Buren, as is well known, urged the creation of public depositories for the revenues of the nation in order to "divorce" the funds of the government from the intrigues of bankers and politicians.⁴²

⁴⁰ December 11, 1839.

⁴¹ *Ohio Statesman*, August, December, 1839; January, May, 1840.

⁴² Richardson, James D., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, v. III, pp. 540-547.

The Whig press of Ohio greeted Van Buren's message as another Locofoco attack on credit and commerce. The Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* (W) believed that the President intended to turn over his party to the radicals after he saw the burst of enthusiasm for Harrison. "Perish credit, perish commerce! Down with the checks and balances, the restraints imposed and the rights secured by the Constitution," commented the *Gazette*. "The tyrant locofocos with the Executive their instrument, are to administer the government under the guidance of party impulse and party intrigue."⁴³ Wilson Shannon (D), elected governor of Ohio in 1838 on a policy of bank reform, had, however, receded somewhat from his former position; and his message to the General Assembly, in December, 1839, differed considerably from the views set forth in the President's message. The Ohio governor recommended a system of independent banks under state regulation.⁴⁴ The Whig press commended Shannon's message, the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* declaring that there was not one "Jacobinical feature in the whole document."⁴⁵ As a result of Shannon's new position some Whigs actually planned, for a time, to support him for re-election in 1840. But these plans were abandoned when the Democratic State Convention of January 8, 1840, named Shannon as candidate for governor on a platform of bank reform.⁴⁶

The same Convention endorsed Van Buren for the

⁴³ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, January 6, 1840.

⁴⁴ See chapter on "Banking and Currency in Ohio Politics, 1840-1850."

⁴⁵ December 6, 1839.

⁴⁶ *Ohio Statesman*, January 8, 9, 10, 1840.

presidency, praising his proposal for an Independent Treasury. It also declared its opposition to a high protective tariff and a system of internal improvements. Van Buren was represented as a follower of Jefferson and an advocate of a simple and economical government.⁴⁷ There were no more ardent supporters in the country, of Van Buren's proposal to separate the public money from banking corporations, than Moses Dawson of the *Cincinnati Advertiser*; Samuel Medary of the *Ohio Statesman*; John Brough, auditor of state; or Benjamin Tappan and William Allen, the two senators from Ohio. Nearly every Democratic local convention in Ohio adopted resolutions commending Van Buren's policies and approving the candidacy of the "Little Magician."⁴⁸ Ohio senators and representatives were instructed by the Democratic General Assembly to support the Independent Treasury Law.⁴⁹ Its passage was hailed by the Democrats as a second declaration of independence⁵⁰ and the *Ohio Statesman* praised it as the only constitutional plan ever devised to care for the public money. The clause providing for the payment of government dues in specie found especial favor with Medary, the editor of the *Statesman*, because it would take from the monopolies of the country much of their "ill-gotten power of oppression."⁵¹

The Democratic National Convention of 1840 organized with Governor William Carroll, of Tennessee, as

⁴⁷ Proceedings of the Democratic State Convention in *Ohio Statesman*, January 8, 9, 10, 1840.

⁴⁸ *Ohio Statesman*, January 8, May 5, 1840.

⁴⁹ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, January 16, 1840.

⁵⁰ McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VI, p. 547.

⁵¹ *Ohio Statesman*, June 24, July 7, 1840.

chairman. Among the prominent Ohio delegates were Samuel Medary, John B. Weller (afterwards candidate for governor and at this time a representative in Congress), James J. Faran, of Cincinnati, S. A. Barker, Peter Kauffman, a prominent German from Akron, and C. J. McNulty. In contrast to the action of the Whig Convention, the Democrats drew up a platform, which, among other things, approved a strict construction of the Constitution, to the extent of condemning a "general system of internal improvements," or the assumption by the General Government of state debts "contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes . . ." Other features included a declaration against the fostering of one branch of industry at the expense of another, a statement denying the power of the Federal Government to establish a national bank, and a condemnation of the efforts of abolitionists "to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto" as "calculated to lead [to] the most alarming and dangerous consequences . . ."

During the latter part of the 'thirties, an increasing number of abolition petitions asking the Federal Government to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia led to the adoption of a rule in the House by which such petitions were laid on the table without being read or printed.⁵²

A resolution professing sympathy for the immigrants was adopted in order to catch the foreign vote. Van Buren was nominated for president, but no one

⁵² McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VI, pp. 295-296. The Ohio Democracy denounced abolition petitions as attempts to disrupt the Union.

was named for the vice-presidency, since the local conventions had not indicated an outstanding favorite.⁵³ The Democratic national organ described the contest of 1840 as one "between privileged orders and the great mass of the people." "It is, in fact," the *Globe* continued, "only a new, more invidious, and dangerous modification of the old feudal system of the middle ages. At that period, the great instrument of oppression was the sword; now it is the purse. By the former, the feudal baron carved out his fortunes; by the latter, the rag baron acquires power and influence through means of exclusive privileges, from which the great mass of the people are forever barred."⁵⁴ This idea of a class conflict was mirrored in the Democratic press of Ohio, which also represented the issue, as one between the rights of the masses, and the privileges of the few, as a second contest for first principles in government, and as an avowal that the people's money would never again be placed at the disposal of a few swindling bankers.⁵⁵

The Harrisburg nominations, in December, 1839, were followed by enthusiastic preparations by the Whigs throughout the State. Victory seemed imminent since the campaign for unity had succeeded in drawing many of the Jacksonians, who were dissatisfied with Van Buren as a party leader, into the ranks of the Whigs.⁵⁶ On February 21 and 22, 1840, one of the most important and enthusiastic Whig gatherings ever held

⁵³ Proceedings of the Convention are taken from the *Washington Daily Globe*, May 7, 1840.

⁵⁴ *Washington Daily Globe*, May 12, 1840.

⁵⁵ *Ohio Statesman*, March 2, 1840.

⁵⁶ *Ohio Whig Standard* and *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), January 8, 11, 1840.

in the State assembled at Columbus. The proposal for such a mass convention had been opposed by the staid Cincinnati *Gazette*, a reform paper which opposed horse-racing and coffee-houses, on the grounds that a convention was not conducive to cool deliberation.⁵⁷ But the enthusiasm of the hour was irresistible, and the *Gazette* soon joined the chorus in praise of Harrison. The *Ohio State Journal* claimed that "Men who claimed membership with all the political parties into which the country was divided, are around us, resolved to merge their differences of opinion on minor topics, in the one all-absorbing, paramount question of Reform; determined that the reins of government shall no longer remain within the grasp of those who are driving to destruction every interest and doctrine upon which the Confederacy was based and upheld."⁵⁸ During these convention days, glorious for Ohio Whiggery, a continuous stream of cheering thousands poured into Columbus undeterred by muddy roads and intermittent rain. "Banners, ingenious in device, and splendid in execution," an eye-witness wrote, "loomed in the air; flags were streaming, and all the insignia of Freedom swept along in glory and in triumph—canoes planted on wheels and manned by the brave and generous friends of Harrison and Tyler—square-rigged brigs—log cabins—even a miniature of old Fort Meigs—all these and more, made up the grand sum of excitement and surprise." The same eye-witness estimated the crowd at 20,000.

By February, 1840, the Whigs were thoroughly intoxicated with their hard cider campaign, and in a

⁵⁷ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, December, 1839; February, 1840.

⁵⁸ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), February 21, 1840.

frenzy over the rather dubious military glamour which had grown up around Harrison with the passing of the years since Tippecanoe and the War of 1812. Hard cider and log cabins became the emblems of the Whig cause, following an unfortunate remark of a correspondent of a Baltimore paper to the effect that if Harrison were given a pension of two thousand dollars a year, plenty of hard cider, and a log cabin, he would not concern himself with the presidency.⁵⁹ Instantly, the phrase was seized by Whig campaigners and turned to the advantage of the old General. Through these emblems of western democracy, Harrison was identified with the cause of the common man, and the campaign became a kind of frenzied crusade to render justice to the old Hero who had long suffered from popular neglect. Democratic sneers, that Harrison was an old granny, albeit a deserving old gentleman, who should remain quietly in his cabin at North Bend, only served to stimulate the popular imagination and to make Harrison the hero of the masses. Drunk with hard cider and hero worship, the assembled thousands at the famous February Convention indulged in all the fantastic orgies of a revival.

The throng was called to order by Judge James Wilson, of Steubenville. Reasin Beall, of Wayne County, a senatorial delegate to the National Convention, became permanent chairman. Amid great enthusiasm, Thomas Corwin, the "Wagon Boy," was nominated for governor. At the time, he was a representative in Congress where he had achieved something

⁵⁹ McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VI, p. 562.

of a national reputation by his sparkling defense of the military record of General Harrison. Previously, he had served in the General Assembly of Ohio. The nomination conformed to the specifications laid down by the *Cincinnati Gazette* previous to the Convention; namely, that no one should be selected who had taken a prominent part in the abolition movement. For this reason, Charles Anthony, President of the Colonization Society of Ohio, and an opponent of abolitionism, and Judge James Wilson, identified with the anti-slavery interests, had proved unavailable.⁶⁰

The keynote of the resolutions of the Convention was opposition to "executive" usurpation. It was declared that the power of the president to appoint and remove officers should be restricted within the "narrowest limits allowed by the Constitution." Other resolutions favored a single term for the president, condemned the use of the veto "except to preserve the Constitution from manifest violation," and denounced the "spoils system" as well as official interference in elections and the assessment of office-holders for electioneering purposes. It is particularly important to notice the Whig declaration concerning a national bank, because that question became the great issue during Tyler's administration. The Columbus Convention resolved "That it is the duty of the General and State Governments to secure a safe and uniform currency, as well for the use of the people, as for the use of the Government, so far as the same can be done without transcending the constitutional limits of their authority

⁶⁰ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, February 4, 1840.

—and that all laws, calculated to provide for the officeholders a more safe or valuable currency than is provided for the people, tend to invert the natural order of things—making the servant superior to the master,—and are both oppressive and unjust.” This declaration was at once an effort to salve the feelings of State Rights Whigs, like John G. Miller, and to satisfy the Nationalist Whigs who wanted something done to stabilize the currency. It aimed, moreover, to unite all elements of the party in behalf of a system of currency for all classes of the people. The resolution was a clever reference to the Democratic scheme for an Independent Treasury which was portrayed as a plan to pay the officers of the Government in gold and silver while the people were forced to rely upon a depreciated paper currency.⁶¹ The Convention concluded its labors by urging the organization of “Harrison Reform Clubs” all over the State, to be composed of former Jackson and Van Buren followers.⁶² The Democrats described this enthusiastic assemblage of Whigs as a “Federal Convention of Abolitionists, Bankers, Officeholders, Merchants, Lawyers and Doctors,” and a list of delegates most of whom were bank directors, bank stock-holders and lawyers, was drawn up to expose the nature of the party.⁶³ Whig pretensions to love for the common people, moreover, were derided by the Democrats as mere mockery.

⁶¹ *Ohio Statesman*, January 8, 9, 1840.

⁶² Proceedings of the Convention are taken from the *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), February 26, 1840. The State Central Committee for the ensuing year was to be composed of Alfred Kelley, Joseph Ridgway, John W. Andrews, Robert Neil, John L. Miner, Francis Stewart, Lewis Heyl, Dr. John G. Miller and Lyne Starling, Jr.

⁶³ *Ohio Statesman*, February 22, 1840.

Both parties, in 1840, threw the issues and principles to the winds. The lack of a Whig platform and the ambiguous character of their candidate made such campaign strategy easy. The Democrats challenged both Harrison's bravery and his genius as a commander. "If a great General," wrote the *Globe*, "such was the equivocal character of his exploits that, whenever a victory had been gained, it was difficult to tell whether it was owing to his fortunate blunders, or won by others, in spite of his imbecility."⁶⁴ As the Democratic *Globe* pointed out, Harrison was, without doubt, "preferred to his distinguished competitors, on the score of that exemplary mediocrity for which he is so singularly illustrious." Corwin set out to rebut these reflections on Harrison's military successes, in the halls of Congress,⁶⁵ and so withering was his reply to General Isaac Crary, of Michigan, who had attacked Harrison's record, that the venerable John Quincy Adams's reference to the "late General Crary" on the following day convulsed the House with laughter.⁶⁶

Giant rallies and conventions, at which the Whig emblems of the log cabin and hard cider were much in

⁶⁴ Washington *Daily Globe*, March 16, 1840.

⁶⁵ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, March 26, 1840; Eaton *Register*, April 9, 1840.

⁶⁶ Greeley, *op. cit.*, p. 132; In the course of his defense of Harrison, Corwin ridiculed the military qualifications of Crary declaring that "we all, in fancy, now see the gentleman from Michigan in that most dangerous and glorious event in the life of a militia general on the peace establishment—a parade day! The day for which all other days of his life seem to have been made. We can see the troops in motion; umbrellas, hoe- and ax-handles and other like deadly implements of war overshadowing all the field, when lo! the leader of the host approaches . . . his plume, white, after the fashion of the great Bourbon, is of ample length, and reads its doleful history in the bereaved necks and bosoms of forty neighboring hen-roosts!" Josiah Morrow, *Life and Speeches of Thomas Corwin*, p. 250.

evidence, marked the campaign. One of the most notable was at Fort Meigs, a spot almost sacred to the Whigs because of the exploits of Harrison in that vicinity. The old General himself promised to attend and for days excited crowds from all over the State streamed to that point. Alfred Kelley, one of the most prominent Whigs in Ohio, who accompanied Harrison to the scene of his earlier triumphs, described the journey as a "triumphal procession" made so by large assemblages who gathered at all the stopping places, and mingled their shouts with the booming salutes fired in honor of "Old Tip."⁶⁷ At Fort Meigs, 40,000 milled around endlessly to get a close view of their Hero. There was a sham attack on the old fort by a band of Indians, a speech by Thomas Ewing, as chairman of the Convention, and some remarks by the old General himself. An eye-witness described the appearance of the mob after Harrison came out to speak, as follows: "What now shall we say of that multitude? Could the presence of Van Buren inspire such a feeling as at that moment animated every bosom? Here was no selfish feeling—the merchant—the farmer—the mechanic—the rich and the poor—all were here united in one thought. They were here in their might—and in the venerable form before them, they recognized a connecting link in that great chain of patriotism, which had bound a Republic together, from its birth to the present day. A chieftain was there who led their armies on from victory to victory—one who had been clothed with trust without abusing it—whose fame was written in the crumbling breastworks, bastions, batteries and traverses, which everywhere surrounded

⁶⁷ Alfred Kelley to Follett, June 14, 1840, quoted in "Selections from the Follett Papers, IV," 1916; *loc. cit.*, v. XI, No. 1, p. 21.

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them. . . And well did they appreciate his services—for sure never before, was enthusiasm greater—never before was a loftier shout borne upon the breezes of heaven.”⁶⁸ The state was filled with stories of General Harrison’s devotion to the welfare of the poor.

Conventions of a similar nature were held at Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, Dayton and at many other points. At Cincinnati, the attendance was estimated at 25,000. Numerous banners proclaimed the issues of the campaign and bore inscriptions like “Farmers, Mechanics, Manufacturers, Merchants, Laborers, against Locofocism,” “Van Caught in a Whig Trap,” (showing Van Buren caught in a log cabin baited with hard cider), “For Jackson we did but for Van we can’t,” and “No Standing Army; Resistance to Tyrants is Obedience to God.”⁶⁹ The last evidently referred to the proposal of the Secretary of War, Joel R. Poinsett, for a standing army of two hundred thousand men to be distributed over the United States in eight military districts.⁷⁰ In point of numbers, however, the greatest rally of the whole campaign was held at Dayton, on September 1. The estimate of 100,000 people was undoubtedly an over-statement. Thousands gathered around the General’s stand to hear him deny the many charges which the Democrats had made against him. Harrison declared that he was opposed to the use of the veto except in extreme cases and that he favored a single term for the president. He firmly denied that he had ever been

⁶⁸ Perrysburg *Whig* quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), June 24, 1840; an account is also given in Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio*, v. IV, pp. 37-39.

⁶⁹ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, October 3, 1840.

⁷⁰ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, July 22, 1840.

a Federalist, but would not commit himself on the question of a national bank. Apparently, there was no specific power in the Constitution to create a bank. Harrison asserted that he thought that he would favor a bank if the powers granted to Congress could not be carried into effect without such an institution, and if the wishes of the people were made manifest in favor of a bank. The remainder of his speech consisted of typically demagogic appeals to the provincialism of the frontiersman.⁷¹ The Ohio delegation to the Whig convention of young men in Baltimore carried the banner of the State with the inscription "She offers her Cincinnatus to redeem the Republic."⁷²

Another characteristic feature of the campaign of 1840 was the effective use that was made of the "Buckeye Blacksmith," a man who, by his character and methods, typified the Whig appeal to the country in 1840. The "Buckeye Blacksmith," John W. Bear of Zanesville, first attracted public attention by his oratorical efforts at the Whig State Convention of February 21-22, 1840. Without the least pretense to an education, this natural-born orator appealed to the prejudices of the

⁷¹ Harrison's speech and the account of the meeting is given in *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), September 23, 1840; account of meeting given in *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 12, 1840, and in Randall and Ryan, *op. cit.*, v. IV, pp. 39-40.

⁷² The *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* appealed to the Whigs of the State, and particularly of Cincinnati to send a large delegation to a meeting held in Nashville, August 17, because of the close commercial relations existing between Cincinnati and the South and West. Bellamy Storer and S. S. L'Hommedieu of Cincinnati took prominent parts in the Nashville meeting, and Senator Hugh L. White of Tennessee was lauded for his refusal to follow the Van Buren administration and for his resignation from the senate when instructed by the Tennessee Legislature to support the Independent Treasury scheme. *Daily Gazette*, August 8, 1840.

poor against the rich, and soon won the name of "rabble-rouser." His mere support of the Whigs was an effective argument against the Democratic claim that their party represented the "bone and sinew" of the land. Bear's fame spread throughout the State and multitudes flocked to hear him. From Ohio he was taken to other states where he continued his phenomenal successes. For his services he later was appointed by President Harrison to the Wyandot Indian Agency, only to be removed by Tyler.⁷³

As an aid in the contest to end "executive usurpation" the Whigs started many campaign papers. One of these, the *Harrison Flag*, announced itself as a volunteer in the cause of the people in order to furnish an "anti-dote" for the "poisons" spread abroad by Democratic papers like the *Globes* and *Statesmans*.⁷⁴ The *Daily Political Tornado* declared that its chief purpose was to expose the greatest liar of the age, Samuel Medary, editor of the *Ohio Statesman*.⁷⁵ Other new Harrison papers were the *Investigator* and *Expositor* of Troy, the *Calumet* and the *War-Club* of Springfield, the *Harrison Democrat* of Hamilton, the *Log Cabin Herald* of Chilli-cothe, the *Straight-Out Harrisonian* of Columbus, and the *Axe* of Cleveland.⁷⁶ These new papers, adept as they were in broadcasting the homely virtues of their own candidates and in repeating the stories of the aristocratic tendencies of Van Buren, exercised a tremendous influence over the voters of Ohio. Their appeals were the essence of the log cabin arguments.

⁷³ Randall and Ryan, *op. cit.*, v. IV, pp. 34-37.

⁷⁴ The *Harrison Flag*, (Delaware, Ohio), April 28, 1840.

⁷⁵ *Daily Political Tornado*, October 6, 1840.

⁷⁶ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, May 14, 1840.

In Ohio, the Independent Treasury constituted a convenient point of attack for the Whigs and upon this measure they poured all the venom of their denunciations. It became a definite issue in Ohio politics when the General Assembly (D), in January, 1840, adopted resolutions instructing the Ohio senators and requesting the Ohio representatives to vote for the Independent Treasury.⁷⁷ The Ohio Whigs considered it as little short of "national suicide to add the weight of the public treasury to a power so fearfully vast, and consign the entire charge of the National purse to a band of trained partisans, who have never been remarkable for honesty. . . ." ⁷⁸ They declared that the Independent Treasury Bill contained no provision for the benefit of the people, nothing to restore healthy exchanges, nothing to place the people's and the Government's money on a par, and nothing to correct a disordered currency or encourage the laboring class. "The money goes from its iron cages to pay office-holders and great contractors, who are enriching themselves from the national funds."⁷⁹ The *Eaton Register* described the passage of the Independent Treasury as the triumph of "Vandals" and the "minions of a contemptuous Executive."⁸⁰ The Whigs argued, furthermore, that the measure would reduce the price of labor and lands, and enhance the value of slave labor, and predicted the direst consequences.⁸¹ The

⁷⁷ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, January 16, 1840.

⁷⁸ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), August 21, 1839.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, September 10, 1839.

⁸⁰ *Eaton Register*, July 16, 1840.

⁸¹ An editorial in the *Albany Daily Advertiser* described the Independent Treasury as "a moneyed despotism in its most odious form—the despotism of a central consolidated government, strengthened by a monster bank, owned and controlled by the officeholders . . ." quoted in *Eaton Register*, January 16, 1840.

measure was designed, according to the Ohio Whigs, to depress the commercial, industrial, and agricultural interests of the North in favor of the "grasping avarice of the pampered South."⁸² Most of all, it involved a union of the purse and the sword and endangered the liberties of the people. In developing this last point, the Whigs made a great deal of the proposals of Van Buren's Secretary of War, Joel R. Poinsett, to increase the size of the army. "The whole shows plainly, to our mind," declared the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, "that the great thing which Martin Van Buren's administration contemplates, and which it is endeavoring by all means to bring about, is a full and effective union of the purse and sword;"⁸³ and the Eaton *Register* saw in this scheme real danger to the liberties of citizens and a violation of the Constitution.⁸⁴ Samuel Medary recognized that Democratic strength was crumbling under these attacks, and complained to Van Buren that it was remarkable what a "humbug" had been made out of Poinsett's proposal. "The standing army of 200,000 men is wrung on every change," he wrote, "and every attempt to explain only seemed to give force to their declarations."⁸⁵

One of the most damaging charges of the Democrats against Harrison was that his ignorance of public affairs made it necessary that he be guarded by a committee from making indiscreet utterances during the

⁸² Eaton *Register*, April 23, 1840.

⁸³ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, April 29, 1840.

⁸⁴ Eaton *Register*, April 30, 1840.

⁸⁵ Medary to Van Buren, August 18, 1840, Van Buren MSS., v. XL. The Columbiana County Democrats defended the Poinsett plan on the grounds that it was the true English policy of resistance to tyranny, and pointed out that in 1817, while a member of the House, Harrison had urged a system of general military instruction. *Ohio Statesman*, April 17, 1840.

campaign. A letter of inquiry from Niles Hotchkiss of the Union Association of Oswego, New York, addressed to Harrison, seemed to give some support to this charge. The reply to Hotchkiss's letter came from David Gwynne, John C. Wright, and O. M. Spencer of Cincinnati, who described themselves as Harrison's "confidential committee." This triumvirate, referred to by the Democrats as the keepers of the General's conscience or the muzzling committee, announced that it was the policy of the General to make no more public declarations of principles because his views on present policies might be judged by his past actions and utterances.⁸⁶ The *Globe* described the committee as the "mysterious conclave that presides over his conscience and opinions" and declared that Harrison's public utterances convicted him of "Abolitionism, Bankism, Latitudinarianism,"⁸⁷ and the *Ohio Statesman* ridiculed Harrison and his committee of politicians.⁸⁸ Whig orators and Harrison himself denied these charges vigorously, declaring that there was no attempt to conceal the candidate's views, but that so many letters of inquiry had arrived that it was necessary to establish a committee to answer them.⁸⁹

In an effort to counteract the growing wave of democracy behind Harrison's candidacy, the Democrats dug up a charge that he had voted in favor of selling

⁸⁶ Letters from Hotchkiss to Harrison and from the committee to Hotchkiss are taken from *Washington Daily Globe*, March 25, 1840. The *Globe* reprinted them from the *Oswego Palladium*. Wright became editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette* upon the death of Hammond in 1840. In 1840, he ran for the Ohio Senate but was defeated by Holmes (D) after a contest which stretched out over a large part of the legislative session of 1840-1841.

⁸⁷ *Washington Daily Globe*, March 25, 1840.

⁸⁸ *Ohio Statesman*, June 9, 1840.

⁸⁹ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, April 6, June 30, 1840.

poor white men into slavery.⁹⁰ So damaging was this accusation that the Whigs found it advisable to conduct a minute investigation into the records of the General Assembly of Ohio. This brought to light that Harrison, in 1820-1821, had voted against an amendment to abolish that feature of a law authorizing the sheriff to sell offenders to those persons who would pay the fine and costs of his prisoners. The Whigs defended Harrison's position by pointing out that the prisoner, during his period of service, was protected from abuse in the same manner as apprentices; that if the offender were willing, he could work out his fine on the public highways; that if he were unable to pay the fine and physically unable to work he might be discharged from prison; and that only convicted offenders of the penal laws of the State could be sold into service.⁹¹ Representative Mason of Ohio undertook to defend Harrison from this charge in Congress.⁹²

In spite of the efforts of the leaders of both parties to keep it out, the anti-slavery question was injected into the campaign of 1840. Chiefly as the result of a struggle in Congress over the right of petition in which Calhoun and Adams represented the extreme viewpoints of the South and the North on the slavery question, the one favoring the right, the other opposing it, the right of petition had become a burning issue all over the country after 1837. In reality, the Congressional contest was a struggle for the constitutional right of petition which was assailed by the friends of slavery because it endangered the security of slave property and even the

⁹⁰ *Ohio Statesman*, April 7, 1840.

⁹¹ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), April 22, 1840.

⁹² *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, April 30, 1840.

existence of the Union. Calhoun had stated his position in the form of six resolutions designed to protect slavery against further attack from abolitionist petitions. He was answered by Thomas Morris of Ohio in a set of resolutions asserting that slavery was sinful and immoral, and that Congress had a constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories.⁹³ The result of this debate was the passage, by the House of Representatives, of the Patton "gag" resolutions by which that body refused to print or read abolition petitions.⁹⁴ The immediate effect of this effort at repression was an increase in the number of such petitions. Protests against the gag resolution as a violation of the Constitution poured into Congress, Ohio alone sending thirty,⁹⁵ but the House adhered to its resolution.⁹⁶ Anti-slavery sentiment increased as a consequence throughout the free states. The issue now involved a struggle for the right of petition. Many who scorned connections with the abolitionists, were alarmed by the constitutional issues raised by the struggle in Congress.

The Ohio Whigs insisted that the gag resolutions were violations of the sacred right of petition, and pointed out that the six Ohio votes cast in its favor were the votes of Democrats.⁹⁷ The *Ohio Statesman*, however, declared that the controversy over the reception of abolition petitions was merely a "humbug branch of

⁹³ McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VI, pp. 482-484.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, v. VI, p. 489.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, v. VI, p. 490.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, v. VI, pp. 510-511.

⁹⁷ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, February 13, 1840. The Ohio Democrats who voted for the gag resolution were John B. Weller, Isaac Parrish, D. P. Leadbetter, William Medill, Jonathan Taylor, and George Sweeney.

Harrison Whiggery,” and maintained that by “putting this federal firebrand to rest Congress [had] saved the nation a million a year.”⁹⁸ All the rioting over the slavery issue during the past few years, was attributed by the *St. Clairsville Gazette* (D), to abolitionists whose “spurious” martyrdom failed to aid the slave and only served to alienate one portion of the country from another.⁹⁹ Clay’s opposition to the abolitionist petitions was strongly condemned by the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, a Clay paper. On the 25th of May, 1839, Clay wrote a letter to a Whig county committee in Kentucky justifying his position. He argued that “In the Constitution of the Union there is not a solitary provision, fairly interpreted and fairly administered, which authorizes any interference of Congress with Domestic Slavery, as it exists in the United States.” To this assertion the *Gazette* took exception, and pointed to instances where the Government had aided in the return of slaves.¹⁰⁰ Partly in consequence of this issue, the abolition press hailed the selection of Harrison over Clay as a victory for their cause. This was especially true of the *Emancipator*, the *Liberator* and the *Philanthropist*, which chose to interpret the nomination of Harrison as a concession to the anti-slavery sentiment of the country; and the Oberlin *Evangelist* argued that no slaveholder could ever again be president of the United States.¹⁰¹ The Democratic *Ohio Statesman*, anxious to fasten the taint of abolitionism on the Whigs, told its readers that Harrison, if elected, would use the surplus

⁹⁸ *Ohio Statesman*, February 3, 1840.

⁹⁹ *St. Clairsville Gazette* quoted in *Ohio Statesman*, February 6, 1840.

¹⁰⁰ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, August 26, 1839.

¹⁰¹ McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VI, pp. 560-561.

revenue of the Government to buy negroes "to be set free to overrun our country,"¹⁰² and the Democrats appealed to the economic interests of northern white labourers by the argument that the abolitionists would fill the towns and villages of the North with blacks, thus "degrading labor where they could get it, and stealing and robbing where they could not."¹⁰³

The position of the anti-slavery men in Ohio was not as yet sharply defined. To 1839, they had generally repudiated separate political action and had resorted to questioning the candidates of both parties on the slavery issue in order to throw their votes to those who gave the most favorable replies. In this manner, for example, they had aided in the election of Joshua R. Giddings to Congress in 1838. But this method proved disappointing in 1839 when several men supported by the Anti-Slavery Society voted for a Fugitive Slave Law at the request of Kentucky slaveholders. As a result, the anti-slavery men in the Western Reserve forced the Whigs to repudiate some of the men who had voted for the Fugitive Slave Law, and to accept other candidates, notably Benjamin F. Wade. But Wade was defeated because of Whig antipathy to his strong anti-slavery position.¹⁰⁴ Although the American Anti-Slavery Society in July, 1839, resolved to support no one who was not an abolitionist, the Ohio branch, meeting at Massillon, June 10, 1840, decided that it was

¹⁰² *Ohio Statesman* quoted in *Washington Daily Globe*, January 13, 1840.

¹⁰³ *Ohio Statesman*, January 17, 1840.

¹⁰⁴ T. C. Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* (Harvard Historical Studies, v. VI, pp. 30-32.) I have relied upon this study to a large extent for the history of the Liberty party but I have supplemented it in some particulars, such as the attitude of the old parties toward the Liberty and Free Soil parties.

strictly a "moral" society and each member should determine his own political course.¹⁰⁵ Both major parties naturally were unfriendly to all proposals to have the Society resort to separate political action. The Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* declared that "A resort to the ballot-box. . . [was] a resort to means illy in accordance with the kindly influences upon the judgments and Christian feeling of the community."¹⁰⁶ The Whig state organ condemned, in vigorous terms, the sending of abolition petitions to Congress, although it upheld their constitutionality, and explained that it seemed "to follow that no attempt should be made on the part of those not directly interested, to lessen the security by which this species of property is held, or to diminish its value in the hands of its holders." Anti-slavery organizations should not send publications "into the slaveholding states for the purpose of creating disaffection in the minds of their citizens in regard to their municipal regulations; much less to foment a spirit of insubordination among the slaves."¹⁰⁷

The leaders of the Anti-Slavery Society in Ohio prevented the American Anti-Slavery Society, meeting at Cleveland in October, 1839, from taking action looking toward the organization of an independent political party,¹⁰⁸ but anti-slavery men who favored the formation of a separate political party met in April, 1840, and formed the National Liberty Party, nominating James G. Birney for president and Thomas Earle of Pennsylvania for vice-president. For many years, Birney, a

¹⁰⁵ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, June 10, 1840.

¹⁰⁶ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, August 22, 1840.

¹⁰⁷ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), July 22, 1840.

¹⁰⁸ T. C. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

former Kentucky slave-holder, had been active in the anti-slavery crusade, and, by his work as editor of the *Philanthropist*, he had become the recognized leader of the anti-slavery forces in the United States. The Liberty party had only one idea, to prevent the extension of slavery and to abolish that institution in the District of Columbia. The Ohio Anti-Slavery men thus were faced with a dilemma, but the split of the National organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society on this issue in 1840 made it easy for the Whig and Democratic elements to remain in their old parties. The Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, on May 27, 1840, refused to take independent action as an organization. However, those who favored separate political action met in September and formed the Ohio Liberty Party, whose prime movers were Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *Philanthropist*, a mild advocate of separate political action, and ex-Senator Thomas Morris, who had just been discarded by the Democrats on account of his attitude on the reception of anti-slavery petitions.¹⁰⁹

The Whigs were anxious to secure the support of the abolitionists, but feared the effect of such a coalition on the party in the South.¹¹⁰ The praise bestowed on Harrison by the abolition press led the Democrats to charge

¹⁰⁹ T. C. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

¹¹⁰ The Belmont *Chronicle*, September 17, 1839, reproved an ardent anti-slavery correspondent with the assertion that "The men of the Southern states, having been accustomed to the system or institution of slavery from their infancy, are so familiarized to it that they cannot view it in the same light that most men in the free states do, and though even slaveholders themselves might and did admit that it would be morally wrong if the immediate abolition of it were at all practicable, immediately to abolish, but also that they do no wrong in holding them to service; since it is in accordance with law and recognized by the constitutions of the slave states; while they are well used—humanly treated."

a coalition between the Whigs and Abolitionists and to claim that Harrison was an abolitionist. Indeed, in a speech at Vincennes, Indiana, three or four years previously, Harrison had apparently favored the use of the surplus revenue of the General Government for the emancipation of slaves.¹¹¹ Moreover, a statement by Bailey, the abolitionist leader, that Harrison was a warm friend of the abolition cause was circulated widely over Ohio. This report, Bailey took occasion to deny in a letter to the *Cincinnati Gazette*, although he weakened the effect of his letter by the statement that from conversations with Harrison he judged him to be a "very good anti-slavery man."¹¹² The *Globe* saw proof in this tone of the *Philanthropist* of a coalition of Abolitionism and Federalism.¹¹³ In view of the fact that the anti-slavery forces were divided on the advisability of independent political action, and that such abolition papers as the *Elyria Atlas*, the *New Lisbon Aurora*, and the *Xenia Free Press* openly supported Harrison,¹¹⁴ it was plain that most of the abolition votes would go to the old General. Moreover, the Liberty party in 1840 did not yet include such able strategists as Salmon P. Chase, Benjamin F. Wade, Edward Wade, Leicester King, and Samuel Lewis.¹¹⁵

In the interests of national success the Ohio Whigs were anxious to disavow any connection with abolitionism because of the effects on the party in the South. Professor A. C. Cole has clearly shown that the Whig

¹¹¹ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), January 18, 1840.

¹¹² *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 9, 1840.

¹¹³ *Washington Daily Globe*, March 7, May 8, 1840.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 9, 1840.

¹¹⁵ T. C. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

party in the South was preëminently the party of the slaveholder,¹¹⁶ and that the southern Whigs consciously modified their position on slavery questions in order to conciliate the northern wing of the party.¹¹⁷ The northern Whigs were anxious to meet their southern allies at least half-way. The *Political Tornado*, a campaign sheet, assured the Whigs of the South that the rumors of Harrison's abolitionism were unfounded, and pointed to one of Harrison's speeches in Indiana condemning "measures of emancipation" as "weak, presumptuous, and unconstitutional."¹¹⁸ Harrison, himself, specifically denied the abolitionist connection, in a speech at Columbus, by pointing to his vote, while a member of Congress, against restrictions on the admission of Missouri.¹¹⁹ These charges and denials continued to the close of the campaign.¹²⁰

In an effort to distract public attention from Harrison's connection with the anti-slavery movement, the Whigs charged that Benjamin Tappan, the Democratic United States Senator, was not only an abolitionist but an "amalgamationist." He was accused of having said, in a court decision in 1818, that he knew of no principle of ethics or law "which would forbid a descendant of the fair-haired and ruddy Teuton from marrying the swarthy native of Africa; good taste and refinement, but neither law nor morals forbid such connections."¹²¹ The

¹¹⁶ A. C. Cole, *The Whig Party in the South*, p. 104.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-108.

¹¹⁸ *Daily Political Tornado*, October 17, 1840.

¹¹⁹ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 30, 1840; *Eaton Register*, July 9, 1840.

¹²⁰ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, October 28, 1840.

¹²¹ *Steubenville Herald* quoted in *Belmont Chronicle*, March 17, 1840. The reference is to Judge Tappan's decision in the case of Barrett vs. Jarvis, *Tappan's Reports*, v. I, p. 211.

Democrats hastened to protect Tappan, who had been sent to the Senate by the Democrats of Ohio after they had discarded Morris because of his ardent support of the anti-slavery movement from such charges. Tappan refused to present abolition petitions to the Senate, although he informed the Senate that he held them, and he was commended highly by the *Globe* for his action.¹²² The *Ohio Statesman* declared that "At this moment, while abolitionism is rearing its haggard head anew under the auspices of General Harrison"—Tappan's action "comes at this time upon the enemy like an avalanche, burying the puny intrigues of Harrison and incendiarianism in one common grave together."¹²³ Tappan's action, moreover, was applauded even by such a staunch Whig organ as the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, always eager to remain in harmony with its southern neighbors and to preserve its economic connections with the South.¹²⁴

The vote of newly-arrived immigrants also became important in Ohio in the election of 1840. Between 1830 and 1850 large numbers of foreigners had come to Ohio. Most of the newcomers were Germans, Irish, and English. Although both parties angled for the support of the newcomers, the Germans and Irish drifted into the ranks of the Democrats,¹²⁵ due partly to the sound of the party name; partly to the hard money tendencies of the Democrats; and partly to the effectiveness of the Democratic campaign to convince them that the Whigs retained the Federalist enmity toward for-

¹²² Washington *Daily Globe*, February 13, 1840.

¹²³ *Ohio Statesman*, February 10, 1840.

¹²⁴ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, February 15, 1840.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, March 7, 1840.

eigners. In an effort to detach the foreigners from their democratic connections, fulsome compliments were paid to the Germans by the Whig press, the *Ohio State Journal* declaring that there was not a "more honest, industrious and patriotic class of citizens than the Germans." The *Journal* did not fear the effects of the foreign vote although many foreigners had been led astray by "skilful and corrupt demagogues."¹²⁶ The Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* deplored the fact that there were 1200 German voters in Cincinnati in 1840 with no means to introduce them to sound Whig doctrines.¹²⁷ The Democrats had the advantage of German language newspapers like the *Westbote* in Cincinnati, and the *Ohio Staats-Zeitung und Volks-Advokat* in Columbus.¹²⁸ Charged by the Cincinnati *Volksblatt* with hostility to foreigners, John C. Wright, editor of the *Daily Gazette*, protested his sympathy for the foreign-born, and announced that he favored a short residence requirement for naturalization.¹²⁹ The Democrats accused Harrison of favoring a naturalization period of twenty years, and Harrison found it necessary to deny this report and to assert his sympathy with the foreigners in their efforts to become citizens.¹³⁰ The Whigs also directed attention to Harrison's efforts to amend the Land Law of 1800 to provide for the sale of smaller tracts of land. "The effects of General Harrison's exertions at that time," declared the Cincinnati *Republican*, "was to give every industrious German—every honest Irishman—who would receive it,

¹²⁶ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), September 11, 1839.

¹²⁷ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, June 3, 1840.

¹²⁸ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), June 7, 1839.

¹²⁹ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, October 6, 1840.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, July 28, 1840.

the right to be a landholder and a land owner."¹³¹ The only danger of the defection of the foreign vote from the Democratic party came from Van Buren's policy in regard to American neutrality during the Canadian revolt of 1837.¹³² When William Lyon Mackenzie, one of the Canadian revolutionaries, was arrested and imprisoned by New York authorities because of his violation of American neutrality,¹³³ William Dunbar, a Democratic leader of Canton, Ohio, warned Bela Latham, a state leader of the Ohio Democracy, that if Van Buren did not pardon Mackenzie the Irish and Germans of the Canton district would turn against the party. The Whigs apparently were taking full advantage of the strong anti-British feeling aroused by the Canadian rebellion and consequent border troubles, and the Democratic State Central Committee found it advisable to send an address to Van Buren urging the release of Mackenzie.¹³⁴ According to Whig accounts most of the foreign born voters remained in the ranks of the Democrats. The Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* charged Democratic leaders with inciting foreigners to vote before they were naturalized, and denounced such as "revolutionary" and "disorganizing" tactics. The Whigs were advised to secure proper constitutional limitations upon voting privileges to prevent such abuses in the future.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Cincinnati *Republican* quoted in Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, October 9, 1840.

¹³² McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VI, pp. 434-442.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, v. VI, p. 442.

¹³⁴ William Dunbar to Bela Latham, February 10, 1840, Van Buren MSS., v. XXXVIII.

¹³⁵ In spite of predictions of trouble by the foreigners the election passed off in an orderly manner, a fact attributed by the *Gazette* to the activities of the influential men in both parties. Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, October 12, 14, 1840.

After the election was over, the native American spirit again manifested itself in the Whig party press, the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* quoting with approval an editorial from the *Troy Mail* to the effect that Americans were under obligations to maintain their political and social institutions undefiled and that foreigners should not set up arrogant claims or reveal a spirit of officiousness or dictation, but should be modest in their demands.¹³⁶

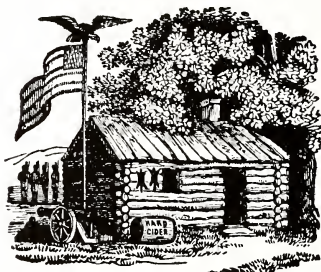
The outcome of the campaign of 1840 in Ohio depended on the ability of the Whigs to attract large numbers of former Jackson Democrats. It was this consideration that had led to the rejection of their real leader, Henry Clay, in favor of Harrison. The old Jackson group never could have been induced to support Clay whom they accused of betraying their hero in the election of 1824. Conscious of this veneration for Jackson among the masses, Whig papers referred to Jackson with the utmost respect and emphasized Van Buren's alleged desertion of Jacksonian principles. A state rights element in Ohio led by John G. Miller, editor of the *Ohio Confederate and Old School Republican*, and his associate, Robert Ware, vaguely emphasized the need for reform in the Government,¹³⁷ and it was around this active organization of state rights men that the Whigs hoped to unite all who were discontented with Van Buren and once had been followers of Jackson. At a meeting of the State Rights Association of Columbus, in January, 1840, D. W. Deshler was chosen president, Isaac Taylor, vice-president, and George Jeffries, secretary. A resolutions committee, composed of N. M. Mil-

¹³⁶ *Troy Mail* quoted in Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, December 5, 1840.

¹³⁷ *Ohio Confederate and Old School Republican*, August 6, 1840.

ler, Robert Ware, and Robert Neil pledged their support of Harrison as a representative of the Old School Republicans. The Van Buren administration was charged with violating "every principle that Republicans of the

EDITED BY THE
*Executive Committee of the Tippecanoe Club
of Delaware County.*



"Union of the Whigs for the sake of the Union."

FOR PRESIDENT.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,
OF OHIO.

FOR V. PRESIDENT.

JOHN TYLER,
OF VIRGINIA.

LOG CABIN

Illustration carried at the top of the editorial column of the *Harrison Flag*, a Whig campaign paper published in Delaware, Ohio, in 1840.

State Rights School have held to be fundamental to our system and conservative of our liberties. . . ."¹³⁸ Jackson Reform Clubs, also sponsored by the Whigs, were organized. Columbus had a "Jackson Reform

¹³⁸ *Ohio Confederate and Old School Republican*, quoted in *Belmont Chronicle*, February 11, 1840.

True American Association" with John McElvain, a former follower of Jackson, as chairman. At the suggestion of the "Jackson Reform Club" of Newark, a State Convention of discontented Jacksonians was held on September 25th.¹³⁹ In July, 1840, the State Rights organization and the defection movement of old Jacksonians were merged in a meeting held at the State Capitol, and an address was drawn up commending the Jacksonian principles of 1828 and declaring that Harrison rather than Van Buren now was the true exponent of these views.¹⁴⁰ The *Ohio Confederate and Old School Republican* called upon the Jacksonians who had been deceived by Van Buren to redeem the Government from the spoilers.¹⁴¹ The State Convention of former Jacksonians and States Rights men, on the 25th of September, attracted about 7,000. Resolutions were adopted condemning the Van Buren administration.¹⁴² The Democrats, of course, attempted to minimize the extent of the defection in their ranks and labelled the deserters as disappointed office-seekers.¹⁴³

More important than the organized State Rights-Jackson movement, was the claim of the Whigs that they represented the ideals of Jefferson and were the real "bone and sinew" of the land. Democratic conventions were denounced as conventions of pampered office-holders, and the campaign became a crusade to rid the Government of the spoilers. "The Spoilers are in the temple of Liberty, and foul corruption has polluted the sacred altar of Freedom,"¹⁴⁴ declared the chairman at a con-

¹³⁹ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), September 9, 1840.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1840.

¹⁴¹ *Ohio Confederate and Old School Republican*, September 3, 1840.

¹⁴² *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), October 7, 1840.

¹⁴³ *Ohio Statesman*, March 6, 1840.

¹⁴⁴ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 12, 1840.

vention of the Whigs on the Tippecanoe Battle-ground. In order to win the masses, and rid the party of any odious connection with Federalism, Whig leaders even denied the right of the Democrats to use the party name. "What odious cant is it," exclaimed the Cincinnati *Gazette*, "for the Locofocos to arrogate the title of the 'democracy' of the United States! . . . What evidence have they given of their sympathies with the masses of the people? . . . Has not their opposition to internal improvements of the country, by canals, turnpikes, and railroads, with their malignant attack on the credit of the States, thrown the class first named [laborers] out of employment, by hundreds and thousands? . . . Has not their incessant war upon the currency of the country depreciated the value of lands, reduced the price of proceeds two-thirds and rendered the farmer's occupation, hitherto one of independence and profit, a life of hardships and half-recompensing toil?"¹⁴⁵ Van Buren, on account of his aristocratic tastes, was declared to be the real Federalist.¹⁴⁶

The suffering which followed in the Panic of 1837 and led to a deranged currency and falling prices, also proved a powerful argument for the Whigs in the campaign of 1840.¹⁴⁷ The Whigs promised to better the economic status of the common people,¹⁴⁸ and spread

¹⁴⁵ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, May 1, 1840.

¹⁴⁶ *Ohio State Journal* (for the period of the campaign).

¹⁴⁷ The "pampered office-holders," they said, were making no efforts to better these conditions, but were only interested in collecting gold and silver for their own use. The Whig press declared that all classes of people, impelled by the palpable ruin which faced them, were ready to join the cause of Harrison and reform. Belmont *Chronicle*, March 24, 1840; *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), February 8, 1840.

¹⁴⁸ *Ohio State Journal* stressed this note throughout the campaign.

broadcast over the State information about the high salaries paid to useless Government officials.¹⁴⁹ Harrison, the plain man, mingled with farmers and mechanics, and was interested in their welfare; Van Buren, the aristocrat, enjoyed the "fat of the land" and spent most of his time "shut up in glittering halls, with a few friends about him, of tastes, habits and character similar to his own."¹⁵⁰ Whig journals contrasted the low wages of workingmen with the salary of the President, who "lived in a splendid palace supplied and furnished at the nation's expense" and rode "in an English coach, accompanied by liveried outriders and drawn by six blooded horses."¹⁵¹ In creating this impression of presidential aristocracy, nothing was more effective than the famous speech of Representative Ogle of Pennsylvania on the civil and diplomatic Appropriation Bill (April 14, 1840). It disclosed alleged executive extravagances and was circulated throughout the State by the Whig papers under the caption, "On the Regal Splendor of the President's Palace."¹⁵² Medary confessed to Van Buren that the *furore* over the standing army and the Ogle "omnibus of lies" were the most potent arguments of the Whigs.¹⁵³ One Whig paper explained that in the event of a re-election of Van Buren, twenty thousand dollars would be required to "replenish the Turkish carpets, re-polish the plate, candelabras and mirrors and enlarge the means of luxurious indulgence generally, which already exist in oriental profusion and magnifi-

¹⁴⁹ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, June 11, 1840.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, April 20, 1840.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1840.

¹⁵² Eaton *Register*, October 1, 1840; Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, August 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 31, and September 1, 18, 1840.

¹⁵³ Medary to Van Buren, August 18, 1840, Van Buren MSS., v. XL.

cence around the walks and apartments of our grand Loco Foco President.”¹⁵⁴ An Ohio Whig leader frankly admitted that as long as the prices of farm products were high farmers were content to vote the Democratic ticket, but with prices reduced by one-half and debts and lawsuits accumulating the rural population was beginning to think about other things besides bank reform.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, the Whig emphasis upon the extravagances of the administration and their promise to restore prosperity proved most timely and effective.¹⁵⁶

Each party tried to fasten the taint of Federalism upon the other. The Democrats charged that Harrison had been a Federalist in his younger days, and the Whigs had to publish long lists of testimonials from men who had been Harrison's neighbors in those early years to prove that he had never worn the black cockade, and had always been a Jeffersonian Republican.¹⁵⁷ The Whigs in turn described the Democratic leaders as the “rank-est old blue-light Federalists.”¹⁵⁸ Van Buren was accused

¹⁵⁴ *Harrison Flag* (Delaware), April 28, 1840.

¹⁵⁵ E. Howe to William Greene, January 27, 1840. Greene MSS.

¹⁵⁶ This mode of appeal is typified in a letter published in a Cincinnati paper from one who signed himself “A Workingman of Old Town.” “We have,” he said, “been imposed upon by a man who in 1836 received our votes, and made us promises of reform and improvement in our condition which have never been realized. Yes, fellow-workmen! he promised us that the blessing of government, like the dew of heaven, should shower alike on the rich and poor . . . Fellow-workmen! what has he given us? Nothing but disaster and ruin. Our wives and children are in want and we are penniless.” Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, January 29, 1840.

¹⁵⁷ In proof of the latter assertion they pointed out that he had been elected delegate to Congress from the Northwest Territory against Arthur St. Clair, supported by the Federalists. Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, July 15, 1840.

¹⁵⁸ Under the caption of “Choose Ye,” comparisons of Harrison and Van Buren were made in the following vein: “General Harrison is the disciple of the immortal Jefferson, and the admired supporter of those prin-

of sympathy with the Hartford Conventionists during the War of 1812, and it was charged that he had offered a resolution to the effect that the war was "impolitic" and the use of the militia in an offensive war unconstitutional.¹⁵⁹ Old Jacksonians, moreover, found it difficult to reconcile the suavity of Van Buren, the accomplished politician, with the brusqueness and directness of their former leader. To stop the drift toward Harrison, Jackson, himself, issued a public letter supporting Van Buren's policies and reiterating his confidence in his protégé. "Old Hickory" professed to see in the Whig party and its candidate dangerous tendencies toward centralization, and he had never admired General Harrison as a military man.¹⁶⁰ But Jackson's reassurance was not sufficient to stem the tide. Leaders like John McElvain, of Columbus, Andrew Palmer, of Toledo, and Caleb Atwater, of Circleville, renounced Van Buren. The Democrats explained McElvain's defection by charging that he was under obligations to the banks, and had been bought by the corporate interests; but McElvain insisted that he was opposed to the "bank destruction" policy of the Ohio Democrats and to the "monarchical" tendencies of the President,¹⁶¹ Andrew Palmer, of Toledo, "a merchant of the first respectability," refused to be a delegate to a Democratic district convention because the Van Buren administra-

ciples which genuine Democracy has ever sustained. Van Buren is both practically and theoretically the advocate and exponent of principles directly the adverse." *Belmont Chronicle*, February 4, 1840; *Daily Political Tornado*, October 23, 1840.

¹⁵⁹ *Evening Star* quoted in the *Eaton Register*, February 6, 1840.

¹⁶⁰ Jackson's letter printed in *Nashville Union* and reprinted in Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, July 1, 1840.

¹⁶¹ *Ohio Confederate and Old School Republican* quoted in Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, May 21, 1840.

tion had attempted to "unite the purse and the sword" and had attempted to reduce the circulating medium below the needs of the country.¹⁶² Atwater stumped the State for Harrison, promising that no member of Congress would be appointed to office; that no political speaker would receive official reward for his services; that neither Webster nor Ewing would be members of the cabinet; that removals from office would be decided by the wishes of the people in the locality affected; that Harrison would not run for re-election; and that the use of the veto would be strictly limited.¹⁶³ The Whigs also claimed that most of the old soldiers were flocking to Harrison,¹⁶⁴ although Vice-President R. M. Johnson, an officer in the War of 1812, toured the State in an attempt to hold them for Van Buren.¹⁶⁵

Both parties appealed to the growing class of laborers and wage-earners, the Whigs by accusing the Democrats of responsibility for the financial depression of the period,¹⁶⁶ and the Democrats by appealing to the class consciousness of the workers and charging a coalition between the corporations and the Whig Party. Therefore, the Whigs accused the Democrats of favoring agrarianism and the Belmont *Chronicle* (W) detected in the Democratic appeal "designs as fatal to the existence of our free institutions and to the interests of

¹⁶² Letter of renunciation in Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, June 2, 1840.

¹⁶³ Caleb Atwater to McLean, September 24, 1841, McLean MSS., v. X.

¹⁶⁴ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, April 23, 1840.

¹⁶⁵ *Ohio Confederate and Old School Republican*, August 20, 1840.

¹⁶⁶ Referring to the bank policies of the Democrats and their proposals for an Independent Treasury, the *Ohio State Journal* declared that "in the meantime, the blighting effects of the war on credit and currency of the country, are everywhere felt with increasing force. Labor is sinking in value, the price of produce has fallen so low that it can get but little lower, business is at a standstill, canals and railroads whether constructed by the

the people at large as arsenic is to animal life.”¹⁶⁷ Many Whigs viewed the contest as a struggle for the preservation of our social institutions. The Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* appealed to the voters “to come out, and stay the onward march of the infidel and scoffer.” The same organ (a paper dedicated to moral reform by its own admission) denounced the Democratic program as an attack on property by trying to abolish inheritance.¹⁶⁸

Conservation of the *status quo* was the rational position for the Whigs to assume when we remember the origins and traditions of the party. Their expressions of sympathy with the people in opposition to the aristocracy was obviously intended to appeal to the masses and to get votes. It is doubtful whether it represented their real attitude. This fear of change became a potent factor in the campaign. A Whig journal, in describing the Democratic program, predicted that “when that millenium of infidel radicalism¹⁶⁹ shall arrive,

States or companies have mostly suspended—all, every interest is on the verge of ruin, apparently waiting some great coming event, some measure of reform that will meet expectation. They will wait in vain until the fall elections . . . The Government is severed from the people; it has all it can do to take care of itself, without stopping to provide for the suffering mechanic, the merchant, the farmer, and the day laborer.” *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, March 11, 1840. To the cry of the Whigs that they were making war on the credit of the State the Democrats answered that Ohio stocks were, at that time, higher in the London market than the stock of any other State and that this was to be attributed to the Democratic legislation compelling the Ohio banks to resume specie payments. *Ohio Statesman*, March 31, 1840.

¹⁶⁷ Belmont *Chronicle*, February 26, 1839.

¹⁶⁸ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, September 1, 1840.

¹⁶⁹ The Whigs asserted that most of the clergy were Whigs and in favor of a United States Bank. The *Ohio Statesman* admitted that most of the clergy favored monopolies and declared that “it is a little remarkable that there never was a despotism of any kind that did not find a large portion of the clergy in its support.” *Ohio Statesman*, October 20, 1840.

all the civil and religious institutions shall be swept away—there shall be no more labor, nor wages, nor schools, nor sanctuaries, nor sound of the church-going bell, during life; and when death comes, your property, if you shall have been lucky enough to have preserved any in such a community, shall be taken from your wife and children, and divided among the public.”¹⁷⁰ Senator William Allen (Democrat), who entered the Ohio campaign with great vigor, denounced the Whigs as allies of the banks and declared that the purpose of this coalition was to make the “masses of the people” the slaves of the “rich and well-born.” According to Ohio’s Democratic Senator, the legal profession was bank controlled.¹⁷¹ One of Allen’s speeches at Carthage was described by the Whigs as “openly and undisguisedly disorganizing and Jacobinical. Its whole purpose was to array the poor against the rich, the trades against the professions, and to persuade the farmers and mechanics that they were suffering grievous oppression at the hands of the professional men.”¹⁷² Late in September, 1840, Buchanan wrote Van Buren that it seemed as if the whole population of Ohio had “abandoned their ordinary business for the purpose of electioneering.”¹⁷³ Even Medary, a seasoned campaigner, testified that he had never witnessed anything like the log cabin campaign, “every man, woman, and child preferred politics to anything else,” and he found it impossible to predict the result.¹⁷⁴ When the August

¹⁷⁰ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, August 7, 1840.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, August 18, 1840.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, August 29, 1840.

¹⁷³ Buchanan to Van Buren, September 5, 1840, Van Buren MSS., v. XL.

¹⁷⁴ Medary to Van Buren, August 18, 1840, Van Buren MSS., v. XL.

elections began to register Whig victories all over the country, Ohio became important as a State where the disorganized Democrats would make a last stand.¹⁷⁵ But here, too, the fall elections for state offices blasted the hopes of the Democrats by placing Corwin in the governor's chair by a large majority, and giving the Whigs control of the Ohio House of Representatives.¹⁷⁶ After the State election, the Whigs redoubled their efforts and, in November, Harrison carried the State by an even larger majority than Corwin had done a month before.

An analysis of the vote shows that the Democrats polled 27,864 more votes than they did in 1836. The Whig campaign was so effective, however, that it swept into the Harrison ranks 42,724 more votes than the party polled in 1836.¹⁷⁷ The Whig success in Ohio may be explained by the distress of the people, coupled with a general disposition to charge the Democrats with the responsibility for the trouble, and by the effectiveness with which all differences in the Whig ranks had been harmonized. The result was a manifestation of the frontier spirit of Democracy, and a tribute to the efficacy of campaign slogans, campaign songs, and political rallies. According to a contemporary, "the administration was sung and stung to death."¹⁷⁸ The Democrats attributed the defeat to shameless and open fraud. If we may believe their charges, the practice of colonization, by means of which large numbers of persons were

¹⁷⁵ New York *Express* quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), October 28, 1840.

¹⁷⁶ *Eaton Register*, November 26, 1840.

¹⁷⁷ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), November 18, 1840.

¹⁷⁸ A. G. Riddle, "Recollections of the 47th General Assembly of Ohio, 1847-1848," in *Magazine of Western History*, v. VI, p. 153.

transferred from one precinct to another and voted by the connivance of Whig judges of election, was resorted to by the Whigs.¹⁷⁹ Others explained the Democratic defeat by a "foul coalition" between bankers, abolitionists, and the Whigs.¹⁸⁰

The Whig victory was complete.¹⁸¹ It remained for the victorious party to cleanse the Augean stables, always a congenial task to the politicians, and to develop a constructive policy, a much more difficult procedure. The campaign had been won with no direct reference to real issues, like the national bank, a protective tariff, and internal improvements. To have emphasized these questions would have driven from the Whig ranks certain elements of the party both in the South and North and endangered the Whig cause. Whig leaders had informed the South that the protective tariff was no longer an issue, that Clay would abide by the Compromise Tariff of 1833, that since the states had taken up the problem of internal improvements it was no longer necessary for the Federal Government to concern itself with that matter, and that a national bank would not be urged if the people wanted state banks.¹⁸² In Ohio, as elsewhere, the Whigs had avoided all issues on which there might be disagreement. But victory in the elections forced the party to assume responsibilities and evolve a constructive program—tasks fraught with the greatest difficulties and full of dangers for the heterogeneous Whig organization.

¹⁷⁹ *Ohio Statesman*, October 16, 27, 1840.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, October 20, 1840.

¹⁸¹ The Whigs also won twelve out of nineteen seats in Congress. *Ohio Statesman*, October 20, 1840.

¹⁸² A. C. Cole, *The Whig Party in the South*, p. 54.

CHAPTER II

BANKING AND CURRENCY IN OHIO POLITICS,
1840-1850

Questions relating to banking and currency became a live, and at times an absorbing topic of political action in Ohio during the 'forties. These issues arose because of a period of financial stringency following the Panic of 1837, which was manifested all over the United States in the failure of banking and other corporations, and in the suspension of specie payments. The result was great loss to all concerned in banking operations, but the small note holder suffered most. The inevitable result of the distress was a popular demand for the control, and in some cases for the actual destruction of banks of issue. The present chapter is concerned with the effect of these questions on the political parties of the time and with the programs which they devised to deal with the situation.¹

There was no general banking law in Ohio before 1842² and even under this law no banks were incorporated.³ Consequently banks were chartered by the Legislature under a variety of special acts of incorporation. This led to confusion in the manner of operation, and corruption in the granting of acts of incorporation.

¹ The financial and economic phases of Ohio banking have been well treated by C. C. Huntington, "A History of Banking and Currency in Ohio Before the Civil War," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, v. XXIV, pp. 235-539; and by E. L. Bogart's "Financial History of Ohio," in *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, v. I. I have relied on these two studies to a large extent for explanations of the financial and economic problems of Ohio during the decade under discussion.

² *Laws of Ohio*, v. XLI, pp. 28-35.

³ *Laws of Ohio*, v. XLIII, pp. 24-54.

Moreover, banks had come to look upon these acts of incorporation as contracts enforceable in the courts and beyond the power of the General Assembly to change. Governor Thomas Corwin (Whig), in his annual message to the General Assembly in December, 1841, doubted whether the General Assembly could enforce regulations upon private corporations where provisions had not been made in their charters for such regulation. He held the view that the question could only be decided by the courts.⁴ The Democratic view was expressed in the *Ohio Statesman*, the state organ of the Democracy,⁵ and in resolutions by the Democrats of Sandusky County urging that those banks which had suspended specie payments "should unconditionally be put in a state of liquidation," and "that legislative bodies have a right to appeal or amend all acts of their predecessors, that are unconstitutional or in any manner subversive of the interests of the people. . . ." ⁶

There is evident in these views a fundamental difference of opinion as to the ability of the General Assembly to deal with a problem which both Whigs and Democrats admitted to be pressing. In the late 'thirties, the Democrats had revealed their attitude on the currency by legislative enactments to check the indiscriminate issuing of paper money, by prohibiting banks from issuing notes in smaller denominations than five dollars.⁷ It was maintained that bank profits came largely from small notes, and that bank failures thus resulted in losses to those portions of the community which could

⁴ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1841, v. VI, No. 1.

⁵ *Ohio Statesman*, December 10, 1841.

⁶ *Ibid.*, December 14, 1841.

⁷ *Laws of Ohio*, v. XXXIV, p. 42.

least afford them. The movement to check the issue of paper currency of small denominations had by no means been confined to Ohio. By October, 1836, fourteen states had taken similar action.⁸

Although the amount of capital in Ohio banks increased in 1837, the amount of circulation noticeably decreased.⁹ This decrease in the circulating medium coincided with a great increase in the volume of trade. Under these conditions a demand arose for the repeal of the small note law of 1836. In his annual message of December 5, 1837, Governor Joseph Vance (Whig) urged action by the General Assembly, declaring that "our commercial and agricultural wants require a circulation capable of expansion today and contraction tomorrow."¹⁰ In March, 1838, the Legislature carried out the Governor's recommendation and repealed the small note law.¹¹ An analysis of the vote shows that in the Senate every Whig voted for repeal and every Democrat but one voted against repeal. In the House also the measure was carried by a strict party vote.¹² Governor Vance's ideas on an elastic currency were in marked contrast with those of Wilson Shannon, his Democratic successor in 1838. Shannon had been elected on a policy of "Bank Reform," and in his annual message of December, 1839, he pointed out "the injurious consequences to the community of a currency capable of great and sudden expansion."¹³ The Democratic majority of the General Assembly, in agreement with the Governor, in

⁸ *Niles' Register*, v. LI, p. 80.

⁹ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1837, No. 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1838-1839, No. 1.

¹¹ *Laws of Ohio*, v. XXXVI, p. 56.

¹² *Ohio Statesman*, June 27, 1838.

¹³ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1839-1840, v. IV, part 1, No. 1, p. 7.

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March, 1840, re-enacted the small note law, prohibiting anew the issue by Ohio banking corporations of notes less than five dollars, post notes, and notes not payable in specie.¹⁴

C. C. Huntington has shown that the increase in land speculation which was one of the fundamental causes of the Panic of 1837, had been caused largely by a great increase in bank-note circulation. Loans of the Ohio banks doubled in the short period from January, 1835, to May, 1837.¹⁵ This bubble of inflation was suddenly pricked in 1836 by the famous "Specie Circular" of President Jackson, directing land agents of the government to receive nothing but gold or silver in payment for public lands. Huntington attributes the panic mainly to the pyramiding of bank notes in feverish land speculation, but gives, as contributing causes, the sudden drop in western land sales, the bank entanglements caused by the federal act of June, 1836, distributing the proceeds from the sale of public lands, and a financial crisis in England which forced English creditors to call in many of their foreign loans.¹⁶ The suspension of specie payments by the Ohio banks, if we may believe their own statements, was caused by suspensions in neighboring states, a condition which made it impossible for the banks to convert their investments into coin.¹⁷ Because of a general suspension, the banks called a convention in Columbus in June, 1837, in order to devise some means of resuming specie payments.¹⁸ But because re-

¹⁴ *Laws of Ohio*, v. XXXVIII, p. 113.

¹⁵ C. C. Huntington, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁸ *Dayton Journal*, June 13, 1837.

sumption was dependent upon the action of neighboring states, the banks of Ohio could arrive at no solution of the question. In the fall elections of 1837, the Democrats obtained control of the General Assembly and in March, 1838, a law was passed requiring all banks of the State to resume specie payments by July 4th of that year, provided the banks of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore had done likewise by that time.¹⁹ The bankers of these cities met in July and agreed to resume specie payments by August 13, 1838,²⁰ and the banks of Ohio were in a fair way toward resumption when the banks of Pennsylvania in 1839 again suspended specie payments. By November, 1839, the banks of Dayton, Xenia, Urbana, Wooster, and Cincinnati (with the exception of the Commercial and the Hamilton banks) had again suspended payments.²¹

The Democratic press of Ohio attacked the banks unsparingly because of this suspension of specie payments. The Whig press, in the main, defended the banks. The *Ohio State Journal*, chief Whig organ in the State, declared that a "fictitious" and "senseless" war had been waged against banks by a group incapable of understanding the operations of financial corporations.²² Although James Allen, the editor of the *Journal*, and a former Jackson Democrat, made these criticisms, he was especially careful to disclaim any especial solicitude for the welfare of the bankers.²³ This was obviously the strategic position to take because the hos-

¹⁹ *Laws of Ohio*, v. XXXVI, p. 55.

²⁰ Huntington, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

²¹ *Niles' Register*, November 9, 1839.

²² (Weekly) October 23, 1839. All citations to the *Ohio State Journal* are taken from the daily numbers unless otherwise stated in the footnote.

²³ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), May 24, 1839.

tility of the masses, who had suffered severely from bank suspensions, had been aroused and the voters were not disposed to deal leniently with the owners of banking capital.

The Democrats, already on record as favoring regulation by the state, became more insistent upon this remedy as the number of suspensions rapidly increased in 1837 and 1838. As a result of this agitation, the Banking Commissioner Law of February 25, 1839, was passed,²⁴ providing that no bank could at any time circulate an amount of notes exceeding three times the specie actually belonging to the bank; that in case of the issuance of an excess the directors and stockholders were liable to the amount of stock owned; that all banks must pay their own notes on demand either in gold or silver or in the current notes of other banks; and that in case of failure to carry out the latter provision they were to be closed. The law also created a Board of Bank Commissioners composed of three persons charged with the duty of examining the banks and making regular reports on their condition.

The fall election of 1839 was virtually a popular referendum on the policies of the Democrats on banking and currency. The Whigs considered the Bank Commissioner Law unconstitutional, and an infraction of the charter rights of corporations. It was charged that the main purpose of the Commission was not to correct abuses but to undermine confidence in the banks of the State, and to enable an unfriendly board, under cover of the law, to condemn the banks by official reports. The Whigs also insisted that the small note law, prohibiting

²⁴ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1839, No. 22.

Ohio bankers from issuing small notes, had filled the State with the unregulated small notes of other states with the result that the people of Ohio were victimized and the bankers of Ohio ruined.²⁵ But in spite of a vigorous assault on the Democratic position, the Whigs failed to regain control of the Legislature. The *Ohio State Journal* pessimistically exclaimed that all was lost in Ohio and that "Bank Reform [was] destined to reign *in terrorem*, for another year."²⁶

The newly created Bank Commission, composed of two Democrats, Eber W. Hubbard and George Monypenny, and one Whig, William S. Hatch, rendered its first report December 16, 1839.²⁷ It was at once an explanation of the financial condition of the State and an indication of future Democratic policy concerning the regulation of banks. The tone of the report had been anticipated by the fiery attacks of Samuel Medary in the editorial columns of the *Ohio Statesman*. Medary led the Ohio Democrats of the 'forties, and his declaration of war on the banks is significant: "Created by the laws of your country . . . they [the banks] present every inducement to attract the confidence of the unwary and seduce into their grasp the most watchful and shrewd, by the convenience and safety they hold out to the public through a thousand pretenses of being the exclusive friends and engines of trade and commerce. They have even made the bold and daring avowal that they were the only safekeepers of the public treasury—that they were the true exponents of the Constitution, the conservators of liberty—and under the broad term of

²⁵ *Ohio State Journal*, (Semi-weekly), June 4, 1839.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, October 11, 1839.

²⁷ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1839, No. 22.

Whig they have attempted to seize upon the government of the Union and of the States, and make use of the revenues and loans upon the people's credit to uphold their villainy and grind the people to earth with oppression. In these attempts these corporations have been supported by the powerful array of mercantile wealth—by city and county court lawyers largely in their pay—by the benighted and mercenary portion of the priesthood—by village doctors who love the shade of an awning better than the golden fields of the husbandman or workshop of the mechanic. . . .”²⁸ Thus the radical leader of the Democracy appealed to class consciousness at the opening of a decade when labor was beginning to feel the need of better organization. The oppression of the people by corporations was the note stressed by radical Democratic leaders throughout the decade.

The Democrats thus seemed to be determined on a definite program of reform. But the position taken by Governor Shannon, in his annual message of December, 1839, produced indecision in the ranks and courage in the opposite camp. Shannon did not neglect to attack the banking system then in existence; it perhaps would not have been defended without qualifications by a conservative Whig. But the Governor failed to give the proper direction to the Democratic offensive. He pointed out that the stringency in the circulating medium was brought about by specie exportation and by bank contraction; and contended that the “present banking system [had] filled the country with a fluctuating, unsteady, and at times, a depreciated currency”; and that a “perpetration of these wrongs by irresponsible cor-

²⁸ *Ohio Statesman*, July 30, 1839.

porations" made the question of permitting them to continue, a doubtful one. Since it was conceded that some sort of banking institutions were necessary, and since the charters of most of the banks would expire January 1, 1843, he advised that the General Assembly take action. Using a typical Whig argument, the Governor asserted that it would be better for Ohio to regulate her own currency rather than to allow the State to be flooded by the notes of foreign banks over which the General Assembly could exercise no control. The Governor concluded with the statement that "a system of independent banks properly restricted and limited in their powers, placed under the supervision of bank commissioners, and being at all times under the control of the Legislature, if not the best system that could be adopted, is perhaps the best within our reach, for the present, or for some time to come."²⁹ Such a banking system should include liability of the stockholder up to the amount of the stock owned, limitation of the note issues to an amount not greater than three times the amount of specie on hand, and compulsory specie payment.

Shannon's message was greeted without enthusiasm by the Democratic press, and to the Whigs it came as a real surprise. The *Ohio State Journal* reacted favorably to the Governor's proposal for a system of independent banks.³⁰ To ardent bank reform Democrats, like the venerable Moses Dawson of the *Cincinnati Advertiser*, the Governor seemed to have deserted the principles of his party. The attacks of the *Advertiser* were answered somewhat by John A. Bryan in the *Ohio*

²⁹ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1839-1840, v. IV, part 1, No. 1, p. 13.

³⁰ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), December 7, 1839.

State Bulletin (Columbus).³¹ The *Ohio State Bulletin* had been founded as a central organ for the conservative Democrats who wished to displace Medary as a party leader, perhaps partly because of the disappointment of Bryan who had been prevented by the radical Democrats from becoming a state employee in 1839, because of his position as a bank official.³² The attitude of the Governor, moreover, was not in accord with the principles of John Brough, of Fairfield County, a Democrat who served as joint editor, with his brother Charles, of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*. Brough had been elected auditor of state partially because of his advocacy of radical measures of bank reform. The Ohio Democratic delegation in Congress also represented the more advanced views of the party on banking and currency. William Allen, in the Senate, had opposed a charter for the banks of the District of Columbia, declaring that they only wanted charters in order to legalize their violation of the law, and pleading for a provision to make the District banks responsible for their issues of paper money.³³ Benjamin Tappan, who took his seat in the Senate in December, 1839,³⁴ opposed the same measure on the ground that it contained no provision for the individual liability of stockholders for the debts of the banks.³⁵ In the House, Alexander Duncan (D) of the First Ohio Congressional District believed with his colleagues from Ohio that the "poor man had been robbed

³¹ *Ohio State Bulletin*, December 17, 1839, quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), December 21, 1839.

³² *Belmont Chronicle*, April 30, 1839.

³³ *Congressional Globe*, 26th Cong., 1st Sess., v. VIII, p. 506.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 26th Cong., 1st Sess., v. VIII, p. 1.

³⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 26th Cong., 1st Sess., v. VIII, p. 468.

of the fruits of his industry by the associated bank shavers.”³⁶

The attitude of the Democrats on banking and currency was further revealed in the first annual report of the Board of Bank Commissioners. That body, which began its work on May 4, 1839, incurred hostility from the banks until the refusal of the State Supreme Court to grant an injunction against the examination, by the board, of the Lafayette Bank of Cincinnati led to a general acquiescence in the law. The Commission reported that “among the causes which have increased the drain of specie from the banks of this state and driven them to a rapid curtailment of their circulation [was] the hostile attitude they [had] assumed toward each other. This cause has operated to strengthen the distrust with which those institutions were viewed, by leaving the impression on the public mind that they placed no confidence in each other.”³⁷

The Commission found that in addition to the paper currency issued by authorized banks, a considerable amount had been put into circulation by the following firms: the Maumee Insurance Company, the Ohio Railroad Company, Mechanics and Traders Association, the Orphan's Institute, the Washington Social Library

³⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 26th Cong., 1st Sess., v. VIII, p. 492.

³⁷ In the opinion of the commissioners there had been no ground for the previous suspension of specie payments. The report concluded that sudden expansions and contractions “has been the cause with the institutions furnishing our paper currency, and such will be their future history, until the strong arm of public opinion shall enforce and maintain the same degree of responsibility, which attaches itself to the transaction of private business. The report also urged the General Assembly to take action to prevent unregulated foreign bank notes from flooding the State in order to “prevent the ruinous consequences of bankruptcy in a foreign institution from falling on our own citizens.” *Ohio Executive Documents*, v. IV, part 1, No. 22.

Society, the Franklin Silk Company, and the Monroe Falls Manufacturing Company. Over the paper issued by these banks the Commission had no authority, except insofar as that paper entered into the transactions of other banks. For example, the Bank of Cleveland had purchased \$50,000.00 of the Ohio Railroad Company Stock and was receiving and redeeming the paper of that company.

Financial depression continued to grip Ohio in the period from 1839 to 1842, and low prices for farm products and "hard times" for the whole community prevailed. The Bank Commissioners in 1840 attributed the low price level to overproduction in Ohio and in the neighboring states.³⁸ The amount of specie in the banks continued to decline, in the face of a great increase in the volume of trade. The specie in Ohio banks fell from \$3,153,334.00 in 1837 to \$1,052,767.00 in 1841 and in the same years bank circulation decreased from \$9,247,296.00 to \$3,584,341.00.³⁹ This unsatisfactory condition of the currency, the succession of bank failures with corresponding financial depressions, and the expiration of the charters of thirteen of the solvent banks on January 1, 1843, brought the matter of bank regulation forcibly to the attention of the political parties, and made this issue of major importance throughout the decade.

Banking and currency as an issue in party politics in the decade under consideration may be divided into four periods. The first marks the political supremacy of the Democrats when, after much division within its own ranks, that party worked out its solution of the

³⁸ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1840, No. 21, p. 7.

³⁹ *Report of the Comptroller of the Currency*, 1876, v. CXVI, p. 116.

problem in the form of the Latham Banking Law of 1842. The second period is marked by the failure of the banks to incorporate under this law; the efforts of the Whigs to make the new law unpopular; and the passage by the Democrats of the slightly amended act of February, 1843. The third period is characterized by a bitter controversy over the efficacy of the Democratic banking scheme; by the partial defeat of the Democrats in the fall elections of 1843; and their more decisive defeat in 1844. Thus the way was open for the Whigs to exercise their ingenuity on the problems of banking and currency and to provide an "adequate" and "safe" currency for the State. The fourth and final period tested the popularity of the Whig banking measure passed in February, 1845, and ended in the incorporation of the Democratic ideas on banking and currency in the Constitution of 1851.

The history of party politics in the period from 1840 to 1850 opens with the Democrats in control of both branches of the General Assembly and the governorship, although the latter office under the first Constitution of Ohio really carried little power so far as legislation was concerned, since the executive was denied the veto. The Whigs, on the offensive throughout the United States, were able to take advantage of all vulnerable points in the armor of the Democrats, for the latter, due to the financial depression of the later 'thirties, were open to attack on many issues. The Democrats had been given power in Ohio in order to reform the banks and to provide a safe currency. But the promises of Democratic orators had not been fulfilled and a succession of

bank failures lent support to the Whig contention that the Democrats were ignorant of the intricacies of finance and were only crude meddlers and demagogues. If to this overwhelming advantage be added the fact that the Whigs, at last, were finding it possible to unite their various factions nationally, and to rally behind the Harrison banner, it becomes clear that the prospects for Whig success were promising indeed. Many of the political malcontents and large numbers of those who had been ruined by the panic of 1837 deserted the party of Van Buren and flocked to the standard of William Henry Harrison. The Whigs looked forward to their state campaign in Ohio with unusual zest.

The Democrats, on the other hand, were divided on the question of bank regulation. Governor Shannon led the conservative wing of the party, and, by his annual message of December, 1839, had lost favor among his more radical supporters. The party awaited with unusual interest President Van Buren's annual message of December, 1839. Van Buren proposed an Independent Treasury system and argued that his plan would remove the evils of overbanking and end speculation with the money of the people. He declared that the system then in use induced the corporations to meddle in legislation, and to have their champions in Congress.⁴⁰

The Whig press of Ohio saw in this message a frank and bold avowal of "Locofocoism" and wondered how the "soft" money Democrats of Ohio could reconcile the recommendations of their national spokesman with those found in Governor Shannon's message of December 4th.⁴¹ In spite of discontent among the more radical

⁴⁰ McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VI., pp. 541-542.

⁴¹ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), January 4, 1840.

portions of the party on banking and currency questions, the Democratic county conventions of December, 1839, generally instructed their delegates to support him for re-election.⁴² The more radical Democrats made some effort to secure the nomination of John Brough, auditor of state from Fairfield County and later from Hamilton County, but it was found that he could not meet the age qualification fixed in the Constitution. The Democratic State Convention of January, 1840, restated its policy of bank reform and again chose Shannon as its standard bearer.⁴³ The radicals, in the language of Brough, threatened that "if we cannot reform, improve, and better these soulless banks, we will annihilate and exterminate them." Any court which stood in the way of bank reform would have to bow to the will of the people.⁴⁴

The Whigs acted with great caution. The *Journal* advised against calling a State Convention until after the candidate and principles of the Democrats had been announced.⁴⁵ Indeed, there was some discussion of drafting Shannon as the Whig candidate in case of a split among the Democrats, so favorably was his annual message of December, 1839, received in Whig circles. Shannon's renomination by the Democrats and the union of the bank and anti-bank factions under his banner of course blocked this proposal. From January to February 22, 1840, the date fixed for the Whig State Convention, feverish preparations were made for a whirlwind campaign. Among possible Whig candidates for

⁴² *Ohio Statesman*, December 11, 1839; January 8, 1840.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, January 8, 9, 1840.

⁴⁴ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), January 11, 1840.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, (Weekly) December 11, 1839.

governor were Thomas Corwin, of Warren; Moses H. Kirby, of Marion; Elisha Whittlesey, of Trumbull; Jacob Burnet, of Hamilton; Joseph Vance, of Champaign; and James Wilson, of Jefferson County.⁴⁶

Most delegates to the State Convention were uninstructed, a policy quite in harmony with the Whig desire to compromise in order to heal all breaches in the party. The Preble County Whig Convention met at Eaton, February 1, 1840, and declared, in most general terms, for a properly restricted banking system which would afford at all times a circulating medium convertible into gold or silver at the will of the holder.⁴⁷ The platform of the Whig Convention for the Second Congressional District was equally equivocal, and simply favored "the restoration of a sound currency. . . ." ⁴⁸ The Whig newspapers of the State were content to accuse the Democrats of intending to destroy, rather than reform the banks.

On February 21, 1840, there assembled at Columbus one of the most unique political gatherings ever witnessed in the State. It was significantly described as a "Great Convention of the People of Ohio, favorable to the election of Harrison and Tyler." The widespread desire for unity resulted in the evasion of principles as far as national questions were concerned, and it was only on state matters that the Whigs were able to formulate anything like a definite program.⁴⁹ Judge James Wilson, of Steubenville, called the Convention to order

⁴⁶ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), January 15, 1840.

⁴⁷ *Eaton Register*, July 6, 1840.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, February 6, 1840.

⁴⁹ The national phase of this Convention is treated in the chapter on "The Election of 1840 in Ohio."

and Reasin Beall, of Wayne County, was named chairman. A committee of ten delegates from each congressional district submitted the name of Thomas Corwin as the choice of the party for governor, and he was enthusiastically approved. The candidate was favorably known as a representative in Congress and as an orator of great ability. He was eulogized as "Corwin, the Wagon Boy," because as a youth he had conveyed supplies to the troops.⁵⁰ After drawing up a long list of reforms for the National Government, the Convention turned its attention to state matters. Its resolutions promised a "safe and uniform currency" equally serviceable to the officeholder and the people, insofar as this could be done "without transcending the constitutional limits" of the government. This phrase obviously was placed in the platform in order to please the State Rights men of Ohio who objected to a loose construction of the Constitution. The reference to a currency to be used by both office-holders and people was a direct thrust at the Democratic plea for the payment of taxes in gold or silver.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Thomas Corwin was born in Bourbon County, Kentucky, July 29, 1794; elected to the Ohio General Assembly in 1822 and again in 1829; member of Congress 1831-1841. Randall and Ryan, *op. cit.*, v. IV, pp. 26, 42-43.

⁵¹ W. B. Tizzard, editor of the *Eaton Register*, in referring to the oratorical effects of the Whig leaders, commented—"Especially did the frequent allusions to the public life and noble services of General Harrison awaken the most holy emotions in the generous bosoms of the listening thousands. When they heard the simple story of their benefactor, their proud hearts melted under the influence of its exalted pathos, and the tender tear of gratitude started forth from the temple of its home, a sacred offering to long neglected worth. Few indeed were they, who in that numerous throng, refused the Hero-Sage the 'tribute of a sigh.'" Describing the throngs at night, the same observer says "Around the respective Log Cabins in the several streets, were collected groups of perhaps five thousand per-

Although the campaign of 1840 in Ohio was overshadowed to a large extent by national considerations, the newspapers and batteries of local orators carried on an energetic battle over the banking and currency question. In the beginning of the campaign, radical Democrats were inclined to stress the pronunciamiento of Van Buren on banks and currency and to neglect Shannon's message; while conservative Democrats, led by John A. Bryan and Thomas L. Hamer, preferred the Shannon platform,⁵² but as the campaign progressed and Whig victory became more certain the Democracy tended to draw together in the face of impending disaster. The Whigs were decidedly on the offensive. They charged that the State Government had been as extravagantly managed as the National Government. Samuel Medary, the Democratic State Printer, was the object of special criticism. It was charged that he had received, during the years 1837-1840, a total of \$59,320.38, some \$17,000 more than his predecessor had received for the same length of time.⁵³ The failure of the Democrats to cure the financial ills of the State was constantly kept before the voters. The *Troy Times*, referring to the small note law, asked, "What has been effected by this great Reforming Machine? All the small bills on good Ohio banks are being withdrawn from circulation, and in their place the country is flooded with Michigan paper. . . . We have before us a full exemplification of the beauties of Reform. . . . Every honest man will acknowledge

sons to each place, listening to the lively and spirited songs of the merry cottagers, as they chanted the rhapsodies of their Ploughman Bard, and hymned the doleful requiem of the departed Tin Pan." *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), February 26, 1840; *Eaton Register*, March 5, 1840.

⁵² *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), February 8, 1840.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, (Weekly) July 29, 1840.

that the currency in our State is now much worse than it was two years ago. Produce bears no proportion in price, whilst all our foreign goods, groceries, etc., have risen, and a universal pressure prevails.”⁵⁴ The plea of the Democrats for bank reform was described as a war on the credit of the State, which would result in a fall in the price of labor and farm products and the cessation of all public construction.⁵⁵ The Democrats replied with the counter-charge that the stringency of the currency was due to the machinations of the “soulless” bankers who hoped thereby to make the Democratic régime unpopular. This was accomplished, the Democrats contended, by the failure of the banks to issue as much paper as they were legally allowed to issue under the Banking Commissioner Law. Governor Shannon, on an earlier occasion, had directed attention to the failure of the banks to put into circulation as much paper as they were allowed under the Bank Commissioner Law,⁵⁶ and a check of the report of the Bank Commissioners shows that the Governor’s charges were correct. In some cases, banks refused to abide by the provisions of the law, while in other cases they might have issued far more paper money than they did.⁵⁷

The Whigs claimed that the Democratic party was agrarian in its aims and Jacobinical in its methods,⁵⁸ and the Bank Commissioner Law was denounced as a repudiation of contractual relations between the banks and the state. The whole Democratic movement symbolized, to many Whig minds, danger to the stability of

⁵⁴ *Troy Times* quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), August 12, 1840.

⁵⁵ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), March 13, 1840.

⁵⁶ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1839, v. II, No. 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, v. V, No. 21, p. 45.

⁵⁸ *Belmont Chronicle*, February 26, 1839.

society and property rights, and a denial of the Deity. The *Ohio State Journal* charged that the followers of Fanny Wright were high in the confidence of the Democratic party, which aimed at nothing less than "an entire subversion of the principles upon which society is now organized in all enlightened countries." For many opponents of Democracy it followed that a disbelief in all forms of religion must be a part of this levelling movement. The war of the Democrats on "Credit, Commerce, and Property, and Manufacturers" seemed *prima facie* evidence of collusion between the worst of the agrarians and the Democrats.⁵⁹ Moreover, the Whigs construed the Democratic "war" on credit as a direct thrust at the poor, who, they pointed out, would be helpless in the hands of the wealthy if they were denied credit.⁶⁰

It is difficult to make a satisfactory analysis of the results of the fall elections of 1840, so far as state issues are concerned, because the whole campaign was dominated by the national candidates and national considerations. Both parties conducted a well-organized campaign, and, although the number of Democratic votes was larger than ever before, that party lost the governorship by a majority of over 16,000. It retained control of the Senate, however. In the House, control passed to the Whigs by a considerable margin.⁶¹ The returns showed the extreme effectiveness of the "Log Cabin" campaign and it is impossible to say that the election represents a reaction against the Democratic scheme of bank reform, for large masses of voters were

⁵⁹ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), September 23, 1840.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, October 7, 1840.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, October 28, 1840.

drawn into the Whig ranks by the momentum of the "Hard Cider" appeal and the fine promises of the Whigs that the admittedly bad conditions soon would be improved. The Whigs also demanded a more economical administration of the State government and a diminution of expenditures on public works. Corwin carried such consistently Democratic counties as Hamilton, Belmont, and Jefferson. A Whig voter's analysis of his own vote may throw some light on the heterogeneous character of the party at the time. This particular Whig announced that he would place in the ballot-box a "Native American, Democratic, Republican, Whig, Anti-Despotic, Anti-Dictatorial, Anti-Cubean, Anti-Sub-Treasury, Anti-Destructive, Anti-Van Buren, Conservative, Harrison and Tyler vote."⁶² To the Ohio Whigs, the election was above all else, a rebuke for the Democratic policy of bank reform.⁶³ The party press demanded a sound and stable currency which would not suffer from the inroads of unregulated paper from other states.

With the Democrats in control of the Senate, the Whigs were prevented from carrying out any constructive program in regard to the banks. Governor Corwin, in his annual message of December, 1840, urged the General Assembly to establish a permanent system of banking, and suggested two plans. The first proposed a State bank with branches in the principal cities, and state ownership of a portion of the stock; the second provided for a re-chartering of the safest of the existing banks. As further safeguards, he proposed to limit the dividends which might accrue to stockholders, the state

⁶² *Eaton Register*, July 16, 1840.

⁶³ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), November 25, 1840.

to retain any surplus above the amount permitted by law. The circulation of a bank, according to the Governor's views, should be limited by the amount of capital possessed by each bank.⁶⁴ The Cincinnati *Daily Chronicle* (Whig) warned the Legislature not to make the banking and currency question a "football" between contending political parties, and urged the Whigs to provide adequate safeguards in any banking scheme which they might propose.⁶⁵ Somewhat later, the same organ declared that "the duty of the Legislature . . . is to recharter the banks, with such restrictions as shall make the non-performance of their duties (not the mere forfeiture of a charter) but the forfeiture of money enough to be felt by all its stockholders; then by some system bind them together so that they shall answer for their circulation to each other and to the public."⁶⁶

In January, 1841, a bank bill was introduced into the House, but the Whigs were unable to obtain its passage.⁶⁷ The chief difficulty in the lower House seemed to turn around the question of what banking system was preferable. The majority of the Whigs leaned toward the New York safety fund system, which provided for a deposit by each bank to a fund under the direction of state officials, with provision for a somewhat larger amount of specie than New York required.⁶⁸ The Demo-

⁶⁴ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1840, v. III, No. 1.

⁶⁵ Cincinnati *Daily Chronicle*, December 5, 1840.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, January 5, 1841.

⁶⁷ Cincinnati *Daily Chronicle*, January 27, 1841.

⁶⁸ *Ohio State Journal* quoted in *Niles' Register*, v. LIX, p. 342.

The Cincinnati *Chronicle* pointed out that only two of the ten specie paying banks in the State had any appreciable circulation. "The circulating medium is literally destroyed, the people discontented and looking with anxiety to the Legislature for relief." The *Ohio State Journal* declared

crats proposed to engraft on the Whig banking proposals a provision for individual liability of stockholders and directors. To this, the Whigs objected on the ground that it would prevent the investment of banking capital and prevent any except the most wealthy from entering the banking business.⁶⁹ Charles Brough and Thomas W. Bartley in the House opposed the program of the Whigs and the Democratic majority of the Senate blocked it.⁷⁰ But there were signs that the Democrats would not be able to hold such an uncompromising position on the banking and currency problem. In Brown County, Thomas L. Hamer, president of the last Democratic State Convention which nominated Shannon, publicly declared in favor of the passage of some kind of banking law at this session of the General Assembly, and it became apparent that both parties would probably be forced to compromise.⁷¹

Political conditions in the national arena, on the other hand, by this time seemed to favor the Democrats. A nationwide reaction had set in against the Whigs because of their failure to bring prosperity. Their inability to carry out the promises of 1840 hastened the "sober second thought" of the electorate and threatened to sweep "Captain" Tyler's divided party from power. Fifteen of those states carried by Harrison in 1840 had changed to the Democratic column.⁷² The political re-

that for two years the people of the State had struggled against the introduction of foreign bank paper and that the Whigs of the House must take some action and leave the result with the Democrats. Cincinnati *Daily Chronicle*, January 18, 1841; *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-Weekly), January 16, 1841.

⁶⁹ *Ohio State Journal* (Semi-weekly), February 13, 1841.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1841.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, February 20, 1841.

⁷² *McMaster, op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 1.

action was apparent everywhere and the Whig machine suffered further from the lack of an intelligent distribution of patronage. The Whigs of Ohio generally supported Clay and his program in the impending battle with President Tyler, but prospects of victory three years hence seemed gloomy indeed. The bitterness of an overwhelming victory turned into defeat by the "traitorous" vetoes of the man chance had placed in the president's office, had a paralyzing effect among large groups in the Whig party.

Although there were vigorous attempts made to lash the party into action in time for the fall elections of 1841, the Whigs seemed to realize their impending defeat in the State. The repetition of old charges against the Democrats lost its effectiveness. The condition of the currency, moreover, favored the Democrats, for specie in the Ohio banks had fallen from \$1,752,000.00 in 1840 to \$827,000.00 in 1842.⁷³ In 1841, the prejudice against them greatly increased, when the banks refused to make a report. In the October, 1841, elections, the Democrats gained control of both branches of the General Assembly.⁷⁴

Throughout the State the exultant Democrats met in county conventions and prepared for a State Convention to be held at Columbus on Jackson day. Triumphantly, the party took possession of the Legislature and prepared to give effect to its ideas on banking and currency. The Democratic resolutions became more belligerent. Sandusky County Democrats, in formal resolutions, asserted "That banks, even when regulated by the most restricted and perfect system known in the

⁷³ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1843, No. 38, p. 8.

⁷⁴ *Ohio Statesman*, December 28, 1841.

United States, are fraught with incalculable mischief and evil" and "That the system of banking in practical operation in Ohio, is a system of fraud and plunder, without a solitary mitigating circumstance or redeeming feature to recommend it to the mercy of the people." The General Assembly was urged immediately to place those banks which had suspended specie payments during the past year in a state of liquidation. The right of the General Assembly to repeal any act of its predecessors was upheld, and the delegates to the State Convention were instructed to oppose any candidate for governor who was either a bank director or a bank stockholder.⁷⁵ The resolutions of the Clermont County Democrats were not so strongly anti-bank, but urged that if the General Assembly should recharter any of the existing banks, provision should be made for individual liability of both stockholders and directors, and the revocation of charters in case the banks suspended specie payments.⁷⁶ The Richland County Convention, a stronghold of the Democracy throughout the decade, on December 18, 1841, adopted resolutions urging legislative action to secure the resumption of specie payments "instantly" and ridiculing Governor Corwin's fear that unfavorable legislation would mean the withdrawal of foreign banking capital from the State.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ *Ohio Statesman*, December 14, 1841.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, December 24, 1841.

⁷⁷ *Ohio Statesman*, December 24, 1841; the Greene County Democrats urged the farmers to accept nothing but specie in payment of their produce, an idea which was probably borrowed from the action of the merchants of Macon, Georgia, who resolved to take the notes of specie paying banks at par and all others at a heavy discount. The "Macon Specific" spread rapidly and the farmers of Wisconsin decided not to take depreciated notes for their grain. Similar action was taken by the farmers of Michigan. McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VII, p. 6.

The condition of the currency became alarming and fear was felt in financial circles that the success of the Democrats in Ohio would mean the repudiation of state debts.⁷⁸ The Whig press emphasized the danger to prosperity which would result from the expiration of the bank charters, and suggested their renewal or extension in order to allow them to conclude their business without demoralization.⁷⁹ Corwin believed that the situation demanded an increase in the tariff rates, arguing that specie was being drained out of the country under the existing law. His interpretation was immediately ridiculed by the Democratic press.⁸⁰ It is evident from the action of county conventions and the tone of the party press that the Jacksonian Democrats were in control of the party in Ohio.

During December, 1841, a number of banks applied to the General Assembly for new charters. Their petitions were refused, evidently with the full approval of Democratic leaders like the editor of the *Ohio Statesman* who were becoming increasingly hostile toward the banks.⁸¹ A Senate resolution to repeal that section of the charter of the Dayton Watervliet and Xenia Turnpike Company which had been chartered by the General Assembly to build a road from Dayton to Xenia, which allowed the General Assembly to "alter, amend, or repeal" the charter, was introduced by Joseph Barnet (W). All the Whigs but one voted for the Barnet resolution

⁷⁸ Ives to Greene, December 27, 1841, Greene MSS.

⁷⁹ *Ohio State Journal*, quoted in *Niles' Register*, October 23, 1841.

⁸⁰ *Ohio Statesman*, December 10, 1841. The *Dayton Transcript* held that the financial ills of the time were brought about by the suspension of specie payments and that the General Assembly had full power to compel resumption. *Ohio Statesman*, December 10, 1841.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, December 20, 1841.

on the ground that the Assembly had no right to alter any charter which had been granted by them. The Democrats voted against the Barnet resolution, contending that the Assembly had the right to repeal any of the acts of its predecessors.⁸² This party alignment was shown even more strikingly in the vote on another resolution. Byram Leonard (W) moved to strike out the phrase "fairly and lawfully contracted" in a committee report which "Resolved, that it is the duty and determination, without exception, of the good people of this State, to make ample provision for the payment of all debts due by this State, fairly and lawfully contracted."⁸³ The amendment was lost by a strict party vote. The Whigs argued that the phrase "fairly and lawfully contracted" tended to raise doubts as to the intention of the State to pay its debts and that it was therefore a step in the direction of repudiation.⁸⁴ It is a well-known fact that many states were deeply in debt during this period of financial confusion. Many of them were unable to meet even the interest on their indebtedness, and Mississippi had repudiated her debt.⁸⁵ The action of Mississippi led to a fall in the price of State stocks all over the country. Even Democrats like

⁸² *Ohio Senate Journals*, 1841-1842, v. XL, Part 1, p. 73.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1841-1842, v. XL, Part I, p. 106.

⁸⁴ *Ohio Statesman*, January 3, 1842.

⁸⁵ In that State, the issue of repudiation had been placed fairly before the people in the fall elections of 1841, with a victory for those who favored repudiation. The Legislature accordingly repudiated a debt of five million dollars in bonds which had been sold by the Union Bank to Nicholas Biddle in August, 1838, on the ground that the sale of the bonds was "illegal, fraudulent, and unconstitutional." The Whig press of the country held Mississippi up to scorn, but the Democrats defended her action on the ground that the sale of the bonds had not been carried out in conformity with the State Constitution. McMaster, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, pp. 19-20.

Judge Frederick Grimké of the Ohio Supreme Court feared that Ohio would repudiate the State debt, because of extraordinarily hard times.⁸⁶ In the House of Representatives, a resolution, to the effect that that portion of the State debt which had been "arrogantly and unlawfully pledged to certain corporations" of Ohio should be repudiated, was defeated by a vote of 41-29, several Democrats voting with the Whigs to defeat the measure.⁸⁷ In 1843, when John Brough was attempting to sell Ohio State stock in the New York market, he found it advisable to issue a circular to show how completely the efforts of those who favored repudiation had failed.⁸⁸

The bankruptcy of the German Bank of Wooster in September, 1841, precipitated another bitter fight between the pro- and anti-bank parties. When the Legislature met in December, a committee was appointed to investigate the failure. It found that the German Bank of Wooster had "exploded" in March, 1818, and that, until 1838, it was "defacto defunct." In the latter year it had been resuscitated by Benjamin Bentley, of Wooster, who had been cashier at the time of the first failure twenty years earlier. The bank had existed to September, 1831, without any state control over its operations. The investigating committee recommended that the General Assembly repeal the charter and put the assets of the bank into the hands of commissioners to be liquidated for the benefit of its creditors.⁸⁹ On January 14, 1842, the House repealed the bank's charter⁹⁰ and six days

⁸⁶ Frederick Grimké to William Greene, March 28, 1842, William Greene MSS.

⁸⁷ *Ohio House Journals*, 1841-1842, v. XL, Part I, p. 95.

⁸⁸ *Ohio State Journal*, April 18, 1843.

⁸⁹ *Ohio House Journals*, 1841-1842, v. XL, Part I, pp. 155-156.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1841-1842, v. XL, Part I, pp. 250-251.

later the Senate concurred.⁹¹ In both Houses, some of the Whigs refused to vote, but the Democrats were unanimously for repeal.

Hostility toward banking corporations was shown in a more striking manner in the Cincinnati bank riot of January, 1842. Public indignation was aroused when the Miami Exporting Bank suspended payments and closed its doors. When its paper and the paper of the Cincinnati Bank were refused in the market, a run on the latter institution resulted, and its officials posted a notice of suspension. This so infuriated the people that a mob broke into the bank, tore up the furnishings, and scattered the contents of the offices over the street. The Exchange Bank was looted and \$224,000.00 was taken from the vaults of the Miami Exporting Bank.⁹² When the Germans were accused of responsibility for this outbreak, they held a meeting of protest, and adopted resolutions denying their complicity, but at the same time opposing the granting of banking powers to corporations.⁹³ The riot won the open sympathy of the *Ohio Statesman* which declared that "for the last five years laws have been set at open defiance by these bankrobbers—the morals of the community have been outraged—and the Legislative power of the country, in all its exertions to enforce honesty on these rag barons, has received but the contempt of magistrates and attorneys, who denounced them as the mere vagaries of the Democratic party—party measures and party legislation. By this means the whole Whig party has been made to play

⁹¹ *Ohio Senate Journals*, 1841-1842, v. XL, Part I, p. 204.

⁹² *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, January 12, 1842; *Ohio Statesman*, January 14, 1842.

⁹³ *Ohio Statesman*, January 21, 1842.

a most iniquitous part in sustaining these swindling shops, and bringing upon the country these dire afflictions. We do hope that the people—a robbed, swindled and ruined people—will restrain their feelings under the outrages of these shin-plaster gamblers.”⁹⁴

It was under these trying financial conditions that the Democratic State Convention met on January 8, 1842. The temper of the Convention was shown at the outset by the election of Dowty Utter, a radical from Clermont County, as president. Wilson Shannon, the first official enunciator of the Democratic banking program, was chosen as the candidate for governor.⁹⁵ By an appropriate set of resolutions the party endorsed Van Buren for president in 1844. The position of the party on state issues was set forth in two resolutions. One called upon the General Assembly to force the resumption of specie payments; the other cautioned that body “to guard with jealous care against making inconsiderate grants of exclusive corporate privileges, and where such grants have been heretofore made, to promptly provide efficient remedies for the protection of the public.” Another resolution, intended to silence charges of repudiation, declared it to be the duty of the state “to make adequate provisions to fulfill her engagements.” Significantly, the thanks of the Democracy were tendered to Samuel Medary,⁹⁶ the vigorous militant anti-

⁹⁴ *Ohio Statesman*, January 13, 1842.

⁹⁵ His nomination was described by the *Ohio State Journal* in the following declaration: “The agony is over. Wilson Shannon and Bank Reform are formally entered for the October races. One more attempt is to be made under false and specious pretexts, to cheat the people out of their senses, and inflict a fatal stab upon the public and private welfare of the State.” *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), January 12, 1842.

⁹⁶ To the query of the *Old School Republican* (Tyler organ) as to

bank editor of the *Ohio Statesman*.⁹⁷ With such anti-bank expressions the "unterrified" Democracy of Ohio entered the campaign of 1842, a year marked by the impotence of the Whigs in national affairs, and by increasing hard times and distress in financial circles. In the words of McMaster, "The fine promises of Whig journals and Whig orators had not been fulfilled. Wages had not increased; times had not grown better; the currency was still in disorder; most of the banks refused to pay in specie; the debts of the States were still increasing; mills and factories were closing down; and in place of the promised 'two dollars a day and roast beef' we have, said the Democrats 'ten cents a day and bean soup.'"⁹⁸

The Whigs prepared for the campaign of 1842 by having county conventions select delegates to the State Convention of February 22, 1842, in the usual manner. Most of the county resolutions pertained to banks and the tariff. Democratic methods of "Bank Reform" were denounced as crude and dangerous, and a "safe" banking system was endorsed to protect the bill holder and to encourage the capitalist to invest his savings. Corwin seemed to be the most promising candidate⁹⁹ and the State Convention, presided over by Joseph Vance of Champaign County, unanimously and by acclamation

whether he was in favor of an exclusively hard money currency, Medary declared that he was in favor of a constitutional currency and pointed to Article I, section 10 of the United States Constitution which provides that "No state shall . . . coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver a legal tender in payment of debts..." *Ohio Statesman*, January 7, 1842.

⁹⁷ Proceedings of the convention are taken from the *Ohio Statesman*, January 8, 9, 1842.

⁹⁸ McMaster, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 1.

⁹⁹ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), February 23, 1842.

chose him as its candidate for governor. A resounding address to the people of Ohio again charged the Democrats with the responsibility for the collapse of credit and the consequent suspension of specie payments. The Convention also denied the right of the General Assembly to repeal a charter, declaring that "The doctrine is revolutionary in its nature," and predicting that if it were carried out it would "in the end uproot the very foundations of our social system, cause us to become a by-word and a reproach" and cause civilized countries to avoid contact with the State.¹⁰⁰ In spite of these vigorous resolutions there was a great deal of indecision among the Whigs as to the kind of banking system to endorse. Corwin preferred a state bank, as he had made clear in a previous message to the General Assembly, but he would not permit any "childish egotism" to cause him to reject any plan which would utilize the total amount of banking capital in the State and at the same time afford reasonable protection to the bill holder.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, Oran Follett, prominent leader of the Whig party, editor for a time of the *Ohio State Journal* and manager of Corwin's campaign for the presidential nomination in 1844, thought that it would be impossible to win in Ohio if the party openly advocated a state banking system.¹⁰²

Before 1842, when certain specific laws were passed

¹⁰⁰ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), March 2, 1842. The following men were appointed as the State Central Committee for the ensuing year: Joseph Ridgway, Samuel Seltzer, John A. Lazell, John Greenwood, Lewis Heyl, A. F. Perry and C. H. Wing.

¹⁰¹ Corwin to Follett, November 12, 1842, quoted in "Selections from the Follett Papers, II," in *loc. cit.*, v. IX, No. 3, p. 17.

¹⁰² Follett to Corwin, November 4, 1842, quoted in "Selections from the Follett Papers, II," in *loc. cit.*, v. IX, No. 3, p. 74.

by the Democrats, the chief difference between the two parties in Ohio was in their general attitude toward banking corporations. To the conservative banker, the Democracy seemed to favor "social revolution." According to *The Cincinnati Gazette*, "If locofocoism such as we have seen and heard it, is to stand in this country, it must succeed only by a social revolution. It is essentially equalizing, levelling, and agrarian. It is but a thin and flimsy veil which separates a Benton or a Kendall from a Danton or a Condorcet."¹⁰³ The Dorr Revolution, it will be recalled, was contemporaneous with the bank struggles in Ohio, and the result of an attempt to lower the suffrage qualifications in Rhode Island by means of a constitutional convention called without the acquiescence of the legally constituted authorities. The movement ended rather ignominiously for the revisionists under the leadership of Thomas Dorr, but it did secure, finally, a more liberal suffrage qualification.¹⁰⁴ The Whig papers of Ohio constantly referred to the Dorr Revolution to prove that the Ohio Democrats were revolutionaries and the Democratic press countered with the statement that the Dorrites were struggling for constitutional rights, jeopardized by the oppression of the wealthier classes.

During the summer of 1842, an act of the Whigs enabled the Democrats to bring the same charge of revolution against their opponents in the General Assembly. At the end of the session, in the spring of 1842, Congress had passed an apportionment law making it obligatory on the states to adopt the single member dis-

¹⁰³ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, March 19, 1841.

¹⁰⁴ McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VII, pp. 164-178.

THE GERRYMANDER.



The above is a representation of an uncommon animal, called by naturalists a Gerrymander. It was discovered on the 10th Aug. 1842, in that part of the State of Ohio bordering on the Ohio River, commonly called the coal region, a map of which is also given above. The discoverer was a Mr. Dymington, who was engaged with a number of individuals, in endeavoring to collect a menagerie of rare animals, out of which the association expected to make very large profits. Mr. Dymington and his friends immediately gave chase, with the intention of taking the creature alive, and were on the point of succeeding, when a gentleman by the name of Schenck, who did not belong to the menagerie association, disliking the savage look and dangerous character of the animal, gave it a shot and crippled it. This was late in the evening. On the next morning the menagerie party renewed the chase; but Mr. Schenck and a select committee of bold sportsmen determined to HEAD THE ANIMAL, and put an end to it. They accordingly threw themselves in its course, and as soon as they got sight of it, they fired a general volley and the ugly varmint dropped dead in its tracks. Its skin was immediately taken off and stuffed, and it will be exhibited through the State for the gratification of the curious.

CARTOON FROM THE DAYTON JOURNAL EXTRA, SEPTEMBER 27, 1842

Gerrymander is a term used to designate the division of a state or other civil division in an unnatural and unfair way in order to give a political party an advantage over its opponent or for some other improper purpose. Such, in substance, is the definition quoted in *Webster's New International Dictionary*, which also carries an illustration of the first "Gerrymander" so called, in Massachusetts. The bill providing for this "was sanctioned and became a law by the signature of Governor Elbridge Gerry"—hence the name. See *Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History*, v. 4, p. 68.

strict plan in apportioning representatives to Congress.¹⁰⁵ The General Assembly of Ohio, in a special adjourned session tried to carry out the provisions of the new federal law. A law proposed by the Democrats, who were in control of both branches of the Legislature, was denounced by the Whigs as a brazen attempt to gerrymander the State in the interest of the Democratic party.¹⁰⁶ When it became apparent that the law would pass, the Whig members of both houses resigned in order to prevent a quorum and insure the defeat of the bill.¹⁰⁷ Their action was denounced as "absquatulation" by the Democratic press, and the party was accused of harboring revolutionary designs against the government. The natural result of this incident was to stress the "absquatulation" of the Whigs rather than the question of banking and currency as a campaign issue. Eli T. Tappan, editor of the *Ohio Press* (D) specifically charged Medary with responsibility for shifting the emphasis of the Democrats from the "hard money" issue to "absquatulation."¹⁰⁸ Some interpreted the Democratic victory in the fall of 1842 as a verdict against the

¹⁰⁵ McMaster, *op. cit.*, v. VII, pp. 67-68.

¹⁰⁶ The *Ohio State Journal* complained that it laid out six congressional districts in which the Whig majorities would be very high, at the same time providing for from six to ten districts in which the Democrats would have a slight majority. *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, August 10, 1842.

¹⁰⁷ *Ohio Senate Journals*, 1842, v. XL, part 2, pp. 417-419.

¹⁰⁸ Medary, however, denied this charge and printed a letter from B. B. Taylor, chairman of the Senate Committee on Banks and Currency, to support his statement. In this the writer denied that Medary was responsible for the new issue, or that a majority of the Democrats favored "hard money," and that he (Taylor) and Caleb G. McNulty had drawn up the address issued by the Democratic members of the General Assembly when that body was broken up by the Whigs. *Ohio Statesman*, June 18, 1842; June 18, 1847.

"absquatulation" of the Whigs. But whatever may have been the more important issue in the fall of 1842, the Democrats, in February of that year, expressed their ideas on banking and currency in two enactments.

These laws reflected the views of the more radical wing of the party. The first was "an act to regulate banking in Ohio."¹⁰⁹ Its passage marked the end of the first phase of banking and currency as a political issue in the decade of the 'forties. This general banking law, the first of its kind in Ohio, provided that all banks hereafter incorporated were to come under its provisions. No bank was to begin operations until all of its capital stock had been paid in gold or silver and this payment certified by a register provided for in the act. Dividends could be declared only on profits arising from the bank's business; capital stock could not be withdrawn except by the consent of the General Assembly; no portion of the funds or property of any bank was to be applied to the purchase of shares of its own stock or the stock of any other bank, corporation, or company; no loans or discounts were to be made upon the pledge of its own stock as security or upon the pledge of the stock of any other company or corporation; and no stockholder or director was allowed to become liable in any form to the bank to an amount greater than one half the capital stock actually possessed by such officer or stockholder. This provision, and another limiting the amount which could be loaned to any person, was designed to stop favoritism by the banks, a charge constantly made by the Democrats. The most important

¹⁰⁹ *Laws of Ohio* (General), v. XL, pp. 39-48.

sections provided for the individual liability of stockholders and officers of the banks for losses to noteholders, and prescribed fines and imprisonment for officials of any bank who violated the provisions of the act. The second act of the same year was passed in March. It prohibited any corporation not expressly authorized to conduct banking business from issuing paper intended to circulate as money. This law was directed against those concerns, described above,¹¹⁰ which had been issuing paper currency over which the Bank Commissioners had no control.¹¹¹ The insistent Democratic demand for an enforced resumption of specie payment was also satisfied in a Specie Resumption Act, an amendment to the Bank Commissioner Law of February 25, 1839, which provided that the charters and franchises of all banks which refused to redeem their notes should be forfeited. A portion of the same act held the president, directors and stockholders of the banks "jointly and severally liable in their individual and natural capacities" for any refusal to redeem the bank's notes. Other sections enabled the State, through the Bank Commissioners, to proceed in a legal manner against banks which refused to resume.¹¹²

These enactments were bitterly assailed by the Whigs. The general banking law, fathered by Bela Latham, soon became known over the State as "Latham's Humbug," for the Whigs charged that it was made purposely so severe that bankers would not incorporate under it. Although it tended to satisfy the con-

¹¹⁰ *Laws of Ohio* (General), v. XL., p. 68.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, v. XL, pp. 67-72.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, v. XL, pp. 13-25.

servative Democrats who wanted some kind of banks, the Whig press promptly appealed for the support of this group, pointing out that the radicals really were not in favor of any kind of banking.¹¹³ In spite of these assaults of the Whigs, the Democratic position on enforced resumption of specie payments proved popular and Oran Follett could write with much truth that the Whigs made a tactical error in opposing resumption.¹¹⁴ To the Democrats, the Whigs were the scheming friends of "swindling" bankers, who made use of credit given them by special acts of incorporation in order to tax the labor of the State.¹¹⁵

The expiration, on January 1, 1843, of the charters of thirteen of the twenty-three solvent banks of the State added to the importance of the elections of 1842.¹¹⁶ Should these banks refuse to avail themselves of the opportunity to incorporate under the Democratic banking law of February, 1842, there would be only ten banks left in the State. Most of the capital thus withdrawn from circulation would be taken outside the State, since it was owned to a large extent by foreign capitalists. Corwin had emphasized the dangerous effect of this withdrawal of capital upon the prosperity of the State,¹¹⁷ and Whig leaders predicted the disruption of finances with consequent distress for the debtor classes.¹¹⁸ As a matter of fact, State stock quoted in 1841 in the

¹¹³ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), March 2, 1842; October, 1842.

¹¹⁴ Oran Follett to V. W. Smith, February 3, 1842, quoted in "Selections from the Follett Papers, III" in *loc. cit.*, v. X, No. 1, pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁵ *Ohio Statesman*, March 2, 1842; October 17, 1842.

¹¹⁶ Huntington, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

¹¹⁷ *Ohio Executive Documents*, v. VI, Part I, No. 1.

¹¹⁸ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), March 2, 1842.

New York market at ninety cents on the dollar, had fallen to sixty cents, a condition which the Whigs attributed to general distrust of the "Locofoco" majority of the General Assembly.¹¹⁹ The bankers, either by collusion or otherwise, did not incorporate under the Democratic banking law. According to Huntington their refusal to incorporate was due to their dislike of the individual liability clause and to their belief that the Whigs would soon provide a more favorable banking scheme.¹²⁰ To the *Ohio Statesman* their failure to act indicated a widespread conspiracy of the corporations to defeat the Latham Act by intimidating the debtor classes.¹²¹

The position taken by the Democratic party on banking and currency at the January 8th Convention and the nature of the Latham Law and the Resumption Act led to a defection in the ranks of the party which had some effect in the elections of 1842. Thomas L. Hamer was one who refused to accept the dictation of the radical Democrats. He announced his position in a series of resolutions adopted by the malcontents at West Union, and in a letter addressed to Samuel Medary. The West Union resolutions favored a less severe banking law than the Latham Act. When the radical press, led by Medary, tried to turn Hamer out of the party, the latter charged Medary with wielding despotic power at the Capitol and playing on the sectional differences of the State in order to gain his point and to silence opposition. Hamer declared that the Democratic policy of

¹¹⁹ *Ohio State Journal*, (Weekly), March 2, 1842.

¹²⁰ Huntington, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹²¹ *Ohio Statesman*, October 21, 1842.

"Bank Reform" had been changed to one of "bank destruction" because of the influence of the "hard money" clique at the capitol, led by Medary of the *Statesman* and John Brough, auditor of state. This extraordinary letter closed with a personal attack and an open defiance of Medary's leadership.¹²²

In 1842, the Democrats were successful throughout the nation, and Ohio was no exception, in spite of a rather serious defection in the Democratic ranks in that State. Ten Democrats and twelve Whigs were returned to the Senate, but six of the twelve Whigs came from normally Whig counties whose representatives had resigned, during the summer, in order to prevent the passage of a Democratic congressional apportionment law. There were ten Democrats and two Whigs held over from the last Senate; consequently there were twenty Democrats and fourteen Whigs in the Senate of 1843-1844. In the House of Representatives the Democrats won forty seats and the Whigs thirty-two.¹²³ Shannon defeated Corwin by a majority of 3,443; Corwin's majority over Shannon in 1840 had been 16,130.¹²⁴ The vote showed a remarkable turn of the tide in favor of the Democrats. The latter had regained control of such counties as Hamilton, Jefferson, Lorain, Erie, Medina, Harrison, Belmont, and Henry, which were carried by the Whigs in 1840.

This popular verdict was variously construed. The Lower Sandusky *Whig* declared that "it is by the combined action of Loco Focoism, Abolitionism and Tyler-

¹²² *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), July 20, 1842.

¹²³ *Ohio Statesman*, October 17, 1842.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, November 8, 1842.

ism, together with a lethargy on the part of the Whigs that this unexpected result has been brought about.”¹²⁵ B. B. Taylor interpreted the Democratic victory to the mistaken policy of the Whig members who had resigned from the General Assembly in the preceding summer.¹²⁶ Whig journals in the East were inclined to attribute the defeat in Ohio to the same cause. Indeed, the elections in Ohio had been watched with a great deal of interest, because it was expected that the results would show the degree of Whig sentiment for Clay, who was likely to be the leader of the party in 1844. The *Ohio State Journal*, however, claimed that the resignation of the absquatulators was the only means by which the Whigs could have prevented Ohio from becoming permanently Democratic.¹²⁷ The *Springfield (Ohio) Republic* (Whig) attributed the Whig defeat to the superior discipline of the Democrats, to the foreign vote, and to the inroads of the Liberty party.¹²⁸ The *Scioto Gazette* (Whig) explained the great increase of Democratic votes in Ross County by referring to the foreign vote, and advised the Whig leaders of Cincinnati to start a German paper and treat the foreigners more respectfully in the future.¹²⁹ The Whigs, conscious of the necessity of reaching the Germans in Cincinnati, in December, 1842, started *Der Deutsche Republicaner*, edited by J. H. Schroeder. The

¹²⁵ Lower Sandusky *Whig* quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), October 26, 1842.

¹²⁶ *Ohio Statesman*, June 18, 1847.

¹²⁷ *New York Tribune*, *New York Courier and Enquirer*, and *Philadelphia Forum* quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), November 2, 1842.

¹²⁸ *Springfield Republic* quoted in *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, October 26, 1842.

¹²⁹ *Scioto Gazette* quoted in *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), October 19, 1842.

Ohio State Journal, in the hope that the Germans would favor the Whig tariff policy on account of their known attachment to the ideas of the Zollverein, advised the Whigs to give liberal support to the new paper.¹³⁰ There is no doubt that a large proportion of the foreign voters were members of the Democratic party during the 'forties. This situation may be explained by the sympathy of the Democratic party of that day with the economic interests of the foreigners, by the attraction of the party name, by the popularity of Jefferson and Jackson among such groups, and by the unfriendliness of the Whigs toward the foreigners. Certain Whigs complained that the Tyler vote of Ohio had gone to the Democrats, a liaison said to have been effected at the time of a State Democratic Young Men's Convention, and at the convention of Tyler's followers held in Columbus in August, 1842.¹³¹ Such a combination does not seem at all unlikely, since the Clay Whigs and the defenders of Tyler were engaged in a most acrimonious warfare. Another evidence pointing in the same direction was the lavish praise of the *Old School Republican*, the Tyler organ, for Shannon's position on banking and currency, and the appointment of Shannon as minister to Mexico in April, 1844, adds further evidence in support of the Whig charge.¹³² Nevertheless, this liaison alone could not have brought about the great change of votes, since Tyler's party was very weak in Ohio.

The vote may be interpreted as an approval of the

¹³⁰ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), December, 1842.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, August 10, 1842.

¹³² Reeves, J. S., *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, pp. 169, 170.

Democratic position on banking and currency. All during the summer and fall, local conventions of Democrats had adopted resolutions fully approving the Latham banking law as well as the specie resumption act while the Whigs had as emphatically voiced their disapproval. Moreover, the national disaster to the Whigs in Tyler's administration had had a depressing effect upon the party in Ohio. There was little enthusiasm in the ranks of Ohio Whiggery.¹³³ The Hard Cider campaign of 1840 could not be repeated, and the almost inevitable reaction brought the Democrats back into power.

In his annual message to the General Assembly, Corwin called attention to the expiration of the bank charters in December, 1842, and urged the General Assembly to take some action, because the effect of the expiration of the bank charters would be "to increase existing embarrassments, retard the payment of debts, sink still further the market value of property, impoverish the debtor class of the community, without any benefit to the creditor, and result only in advantage to the capitalists, who will be enabled to speculate upon the wretched fortunes of debtors, who have only property wherewith to pay the demands against them." Corwin, of course, did not expect his recommendations to bear fruit and he advised the General Assembly, if it were determined to destroy the banks, to provide against the entrance into the State of the paper of other banks.¹³⁴

The gloomy predictions of Corwin were not unfounded. Neither Shannon's first message to the Gen-

¹³³ Corwin to Follett, November 12, 1842 quoted in "Selections from the Follett Papers, II" in *loc. cit.*, v. IX, No. 3, pp. 75-76.

¹³⁴ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1842-1843, v. VII, No. 1.

eral Assembly nor the report of the Banking Commissioners on December 17, 1842, gave the banks any encouragement. On the other hand, neither the Governor nor the Commission openly favored a hard money currency. After referring again to the fact that thirteen of the existing bank charters would soon expire, the Commission vaguely stated that "whatever may be the future policy of the State in regard to supplying the places of the expiring and broken banks, it would seem to be pretty clearly settled that public opinion is averse to the present unrestricted system of banking."¹³⁵ The Democrats stood firm on the Latham Law, and, on January 1, 1843, thirteen of the solvent banks of Ohio went out of business, thus bringing to a close the second period in the history of the banking and currency problem in Ohio in this decade. The bankers undoubtedly hoped, by their refusal to incorporate under the Latham Law, to obtain a less stringent enactment.

With the issue thus clearly drawn, sentiment developed among the Democrats to revise the Latham Law in the direction of greater leniency for the banks. In February, 1843, the law was modified in order to satisfy the conservative Democrats and keep their support. The most important change in the law was the clause providing for individual liability.¹³⁶ The amendment protected those members of the bank's directors who wanted to abide by the law and yet might be outvoted by a possible majority. It will be seen that this was not a relaxation of the principles of the Latham Law. It was evident that the radical Democrats had revised the law,

¹³⁵ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1842-1843, v. VII, No. 15, pp. 1-6.

¹³⁶ *Laws of Ohio*, v. XLI, pp. 36-40.

in the hope that a slight concession would prevent further relaxation. The Whigs denied that the new law constituted a relaxation or that it was the intention of the Democrats to have incorporations under it, and labeled the amendment another "humbug." The Democrats were assailed as "bank destructionists" and the people advised that there would be no adequate currency until the "demagogues" were turned out of office and replaced by men who understood the mysteries of finance.¹³⁷

The campaign of 1843 was waged on the currency issue, although it was somewhat complicated by the plans of friends of several candidates who aspired to the presidency in the following year.¹³⁸ In spite of the party lash, a rather serious division appeared in the ranks of the Democracy, already apparent in the division of sentiment in the Legislature during the consideration of T. W. Bartley's amendment to the Latham Law. Edson B. Olds, a conservative Democrat from Pickaway County, introduced a new banking law in 1843 which did not include the orthodox Democratic principle of individual liability for stockholders. It brought down on the head of its author the maledictions of the party press. The Columbus correspondent of the *Kalida Venture*, a radical anti-bank paper, described Olds as a "would be high priest of Democracy, who is yet reeking with the filth and slime of Federalism," and declared that his avowed plan to read Democrats like Byington, McNulty, and Medary out of the party had failed

¹³⁷ *Ohio State Journal*, March-October, 1843.

¹³⁸ See Chapter III.

utterly.¹³⁹ Among the papers representing a vigorous anti-bank attitude were the *Ohio Statesman*, the *New Lisbon Patriot*, *Steubenville Union*, *Chillicothe Advertiser*, *Kalida Venture*, *Mt. Vernon Democratic Banner*, *Newark Advocate*, *Ohio Democrat*, *Mansfield Shield and Banner*, and the *Stark County Democrat*.¹⁴⁰ The Marion County Democrats charged that certain members of the party were in collusion with the Whigs and called upon the "real Democracy" to stand firm on the banking question.¹⁴¹ The Cincinnati *Daily Enquirer* favored a well regulated banking system and openly accused Medary, of the *Statesman*, of favoring an exclusively metallic currency. To similar attacks by the *Zanesville Aurora*, Medary replied that he never had opposed the rechartering of any of the sound banks of the State, although he doubted whether any sound ones were in existence. Medary opposed the rechartering of any bank except with the most rigid restrictions. If the bankers opposed such restrictions, he favored a return to a metallic currency. "We have seen so much bank swindling," he said, "so much bank politics—for in 1840 nearly every bank was a Whig committee room—that when the issue must be made between unrestricted and unpenitentiared banking and no banking at all, we should be found foremost in the fight for no bank at all."¹⁴² In Hamilton County, David T. Disney, a bank

¹³⁹ *Ohio State Journal* (Weekly), March 1, 1843.

¹⁴⁰ *Ohio Statesman*, February 8, 1843.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, February 8, 1843.

¹⁴² The Dayton *Western Empire*, in defense of Medary, declared that the latter was accused of "advocating bank destruction" because he was opposed to the "rotten, corrupt and swindling shops known by the name of banks, which played upon the energies and labor of the industrious classes."

director, actually was nominated for the Legislature by the regular Democratic nominating convention. This led to the calling of a protest by the radicals. Disney attended in order to defend himself against charges of unorthodoxy and pointed out that he had, upon his nomination, resigned his office as bank director. Only the strenuous efforts of Charles Brough quieted the insurgents and prevented the nomination of another candidate.¹⁴³

In other sections the conservatives were the insurgents. In Chillicothe the *True Democrat* backed by Edison B. Olds, was launched to oppose the bank policy of the regular and more radical Democrats. The paper was promptly labeled by the *Ohio Statesman* as a "shin-plaster organ."¹⁴⁴ In Knox County the "softs" were charged with unorthodoxy by the *Knox County Democratic Banner* when they adopted resolutions in favor of a banking system without the individual liability principle.¹⁴⁵ In the Seventh Congressional District, composed of Clermont, Brown and Highland Counties, state issues figured in the selection of a Democratic candidate for Congress. When the delegates from Brown and Highland agreed to support J. J. McDowell for that office, those from Clermont bolted the convention because McDowell had been associated with Hamer in proposing

The *Western Empire* realized and deplored that the division among the Democrats of the General Assembly had been transferred to the party press of the State. *Ohio Statesman*, February 3, 1843. Dayton *Western Empire* quoted in *Ohio Statesman*, February 3, 1843.

¹⁴³ *Ohio State Journal*, August 24, 1843.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, August 15, 1843.

¹⁴⁵ *Knox County Democratic Banner* quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, June 15, 1843.

the West Union resolutions of the previous year. Clermont was the home of Buchanan, the radical Democratic speaker of the last House of Representatives.¹⁴⁶ The defection was not disastrous to the Democrats, however, since McDowell carried the district.¹⁴⁷

Some of the Whigs were in favor of making an issue of the congressional apportionment law passed by the Democrats in the legislative session of 1842-1843, which the *Ohio State Journal* denounced as a "villainous fraud."¹⁴⁸ It will be recalled that the efforts of the Democrats to pass an apportionment law in the previous summer had failed due to the resignation of the Whig members of the General Assembly and the consequent lack of a quorum. The Democrats carried out in 1843 what they had been unable to do in the extra session of 1842. The Whig press, although a unit in condemning the law, was divided as to the expediency of demanding its repeal and the *Ohio State Journal* soon concluded that the banking question was the real issue. "The question must be settled whether we are to have banks or not, and it must be settled now. The *Statesman* and its servile echoes, one and all, declare that the Loco Foco party have done all for the people in the way of providing a currency that they intend to. Everybody knows that they have destroyed the whole system of banking, and it devolves upon the Whigs to repair the destruction. Keep them to their own issues. Banks or no banks—that's the question—the grand question in

¹⁴⁶*Weekly Ohio State Journal*, August 30, 1843.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, October 18, 1843.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, March 29, 1843.

dispute, and it is only by the triumph of the Whigs, that it is ever to be brought to a successful termination.”¹⁴⁹

At the end of the 1842-1843 session of the Legislature, the Whig members met in conclave in order to formulate a policy.¹⁵⁰ An address to the people of Ohio condemned the Democratic apportionment law and the banking laws, and the Whig legislators endorsed the nomination of Henry Clay and John Davis for 1844. The convention also called attention to the importance of carrying the next General Assembly, for, in accordance with the State Constitution, it would become the duty of the next session to apportion the State for representative purposes.¹⁵¹ Whig county conventions followed the lead of the Whig legislators, stressing the usual Whig arguments against the Democrats and the Democratic banking laws.¹⁵²

The Democrats defended the bank legislation of the two previous winters which they considered genuine reform legislation designed to correct the evils of irresponsible banking. The capitalists, they insisted, were not incorporating because they were unwilling to deal honestly with the people and their refusal to incorporate was proof positive of the swindling character of these “shinplaster” institutions. At a meeting of Democrats at Mount Vernon still more drastic resolutions were adopted, asserting that gold and silver were the only currency recognized by the constitution and “that all

¹⁴⁹ *Ohio State Journal*, April 8, 1843.

¹⁵⁰ Members of the State Central Committee for 1843-1844 were Joseph Ridgway, Robert Neil, John A. Lazell, Lewis F. Heyl, O. W. Sherwood, William Armstrong, and John Greenwood.

¹⁵¹ Proceedings in *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, March 22, 1843.

¹⁵² *Ohio State Journal*, June 22, 1843.

substitutes therefor, hitherto invented by the avarice and cupidity of bank swindlers, have proved a gross fraud on the people, an enormous tax upon the honest industry of the country, a license and encouragement to unbounded rascality, and a fatal enemy to the morals, manliness, integrity and prosperity of the nation." They hailed "with inexpressible joy the downfall of the cheating and thieving banking system, which is the inevitable result of the gradual restoration of the Constitutional currency."¹⁵³

The early months of 1843 were marked by a noticeable financial depression with consequent distress among small property owners and the laborers. The most characteristic evidences of this distress were the large numbers of foreclosures and sheriff's sales to meet the demands of creditors.¹⁵⁴ In Cleveland, the workingmen protested against the custom of their employers of paying their wages in goods from their stores but the contractors declared that they were forced to pay their laborers in this manner on account of the insufficient currency. In certain parts of Washington County the debtors banded together to prevent the sheriff from selling their property.¹⁵⁵ The Whigs appealed to the laborers for support on the grounds that the "hard money" policy of the Democrats was the cause of the scarcity of money.¹⁵⁶ Early in the summer, conditions improved, a change attributed at once by the Democrats

¹⁵³ *Ohio State Journal*, July 15, 1843.

¹⁵⁴ *Weekly Ohio State Journal* (Supplement), January 25, February 1, 8, 15, 1843.

¹⁵⁵ *McConnellsville Whig Standard* quoted in *Weekly Ohio State Journal*,

¹⁵⁶ *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, April 12, 1843.

April 12, 1843.

to the benefits of their banking measures. The *Western Empire* (D) declared that the Whigs were "frightened to desperation" by the return of high prices for farm products and by the soundness of the currency,¹⁵⁷ and these improved financial and economic conditions were hailed by the *Ohio Statesman* with the following editorial headline: "Prices of produce going up while the Banks are going down—Whig predictions falsified by facts and experience."¹⁵⁸ The Zanesville *Aurora* even argued that a thirty per cent rise in the price of wheat was caused by the expiration of the bank charters.¹⁵⁹

The Whigs could not ignore the prosperity argument of the Democrats, but the *Ohio State Journal* attributed the turn in the tide to the Whig tariff of 1842,¹⁶⁰ and found additional reasons for the new prosperity in the loans obtained by the Canal Fund Commissioners from New York and from the Ohio banks.¹⁶¹ But for the most part, the Whig leaders adhered to the charge that the Democrats really favored a "hard money" currency and that the laws of the last two years were aimed at the destruction of the banks.¹⁶² Despite a vigorous newspaper contest, the Whigs were unable to develop any great enthusiasm in the fall campaign.¹⁶³ The Whigs remained on the offensive against the Democratic bank legislation and the Democrats val-

¹⁵⁷ *Western Empire* quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, June 20, 1843.

¹⁵⁸ *Ohio Statesman*, June 16, 1843.

¹⁵⁹ Zanesville *Aurora* quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, June 20, 1843.

¹⁶⁰ *Ohio State Journal*, June 20, 1843.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1843.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, April 22, 1843.

¹⁶³ McLean to Crittenden, September 22, 1843, Crittenden MSS., v. XI. Vol. XXXVII—35.

iantly defended their admittedly severe legislation in the face of division within their own ranks.¹⁶⁴

Repudiation and the issue of law and order also figured in the election of 1843. Indeed, these were often inseparable from the banking issue. In commenting on the nomination of Joseph Ridgway,¹⁶⁵ by the Whigs, to represent the Tenth Congressional District, the *Ohio State Journal* declared that "though not a violent partisan, he is no upstart bastard Democrat—no brawling, barn-burning, bank-destroying Locofoco—but a plain, honest Democrat of the ancient school of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams," and "one of the people."¹⁶⁶ The Democratic contention that the Legislature had no right to bind the State beyond the power of the popular will, was denounced by the Whigs as "the germ of repealing charters and other contracts and grants, and repudiating public debts and obligations. . . ." ¹⁶⁷

The State election of October, 1843, resulted in a material gain for the Whigs. Although the Democrats retained control of the Senate by a majority of four votes, two of the four were independent Democrats elected in opposition to the radicals.¹⁶⁸ The Whigs con-

¹⁶⁴ See Chapter III.

¹⁶⁵ Ridgway had made a record as a consistent Whig in 1839-1840 when he represented the Eighth Congressional District in Congress. *Cong. Globe*, 26th Cong., 1st Sess., v. VIII, p. 43.

¹⁶⁶ *Ohio State Journal*, June 17, 1843.

¹⁶⁷ Robert H. Ives, a prominent Whig outsider from Rhode Island, feared that the checks and balances of government were rapidly decaying and that the government was sinking into a pure democracy as a result of immigration, and wondered how far the Ohio "destructionists" were going. Ives to Greene, March, 1843. Greene MSS.

¹⁶⁸ *Ohio State Journal*, August 29, 1843; *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, October 18, 1843.

trolled the House of Representatives by a majority of six.¹⁶⁹ On joint ballot of the two houses, the Whigs thus were able to control the election of state officers. On the other hand, the Democrats were in a position to defeat any Whig banking measure if the Democratic insurgents could be persuaded to fall in line. The Whig State Central Committee declared that the result was satisfactory enough to stop "corruption" and prophesied victory in 1844. The Democrats, however, obtained a majority of the Ohio congressional delegation, twelve Democrats and nine Whigs being returned to the Congress of 1843-1844. This defeat, the Whigs attributed to the inequalities of the last congressional apportionment law. More specifically, when Joseph Ridgway was defeated by Heman A. Moore in the Tenth District, which included the counties of Franklin, Knox and Licking, the Whigs charged that Franklin had been added to the other counties in order to overcome a substantial Whig majority in the former. The *Ohio State Journal*, however, attributed Ridgway's defeat to the Liberty Party vote.¹⁷⁰ As in 1840, the Whigs declared that the people of Ohio had spoken in favor of a Whig banking scheme. But their plans were blocked by a Democratic Senate unless conservative Democrats should vote with them. The *Piqua Register* (W) urged the Whigs to pass some kind of a banking measure. If the Democratic Senate chose to oppose it, the blame for disregarding the wish of the people would rest squarely upon them.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, October 25, 1843.

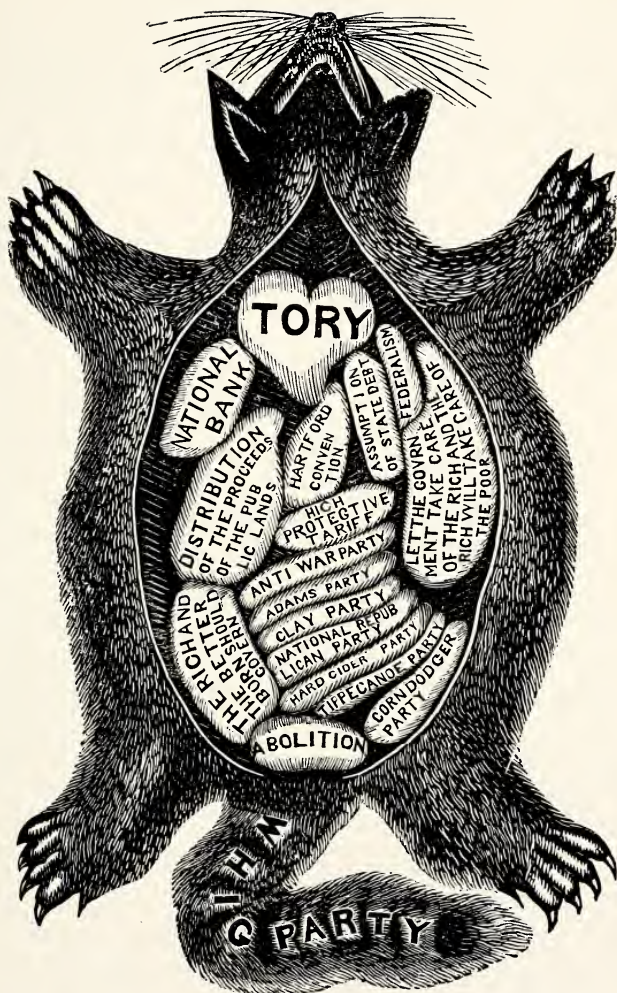
¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, October 18, 1843.

¹⁷¹ *Piqua Register* quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, March 15, 1843.

The situation was ominous for the Democrats. The election had returned to the Senate certain Democrats who were known to be in favor of a system of banking which did not differ greatly from the plans proposed by the Whigs. Moreover, the factions within the party were embittered by a fight to control the State delegation to the National Convention. At the head of the party was Wilson Shannon, a governor who had lost contact with his party entirely and who was even accused of flirting with the despised Tylerites for Federal appointment.

In his annual message to the General Assembly in December, 1843, Shannon paved the way for further Democratic division by asserting that he believed a "well-guarded and well-restricted system of local banks, judiciously distributed in the State, with a fixed amount of capital, adequate to the business wants of the country, is the best and most practical system of banking that can, at this time, be adopted in this state."¹⁷² Shannon's position was practically an acceptance of the Whig program. The Governor's message made no mention of the finality of the Latham and Bartley Laws as might have been expected from a governor representing the dominant element in the Democratic party. The effect of Shannon's message soon was seen in an attempt to modify the Latham Law so as to exempt the Bank of Wooster from its operation. This was favored by certain conservative Democrats in spite of an urgent warning from the *Ohio Statesman* that there should be no more "tinkering" with the banking laws. Pointing

¹⁷² *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1843, v. VIII, No. 1, p. 7.



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to new evidences of prosperity, the *Statesman* thought there should be no more banks "to again demoralize the country, and spread ruin, robbery and swindling broadcast over the land."¹⁷³ Hazeltine (D), in the Senate, opposed the plan to exempt the Bank of Wooster and asserted that had it not been for the fact that a few Democrats were connected with the Bank no attempt would have been made to disturb the general acquiescence in the Latham and Bartley Laws.¹⁷⁴ Samuel Lahm (D) of Stark County, who favored exemption, declared that it would not mean an abandonment of the Latham Law. Lahm was connected with the Bank of Wooster in an official capacity, and as a conservative Democrat supported Cass for the Democratic nomination in 1844.¹⁷⁵

It was mainly through the efforts of Joseph S. Lake and Benjamin Jones, directors of the Wooster Bank, that four Democratic senators, among them Samuel Lahm, were induced to vote with the Whigs to exempt the Wooster Bank from the provisions of the general banking laws.¹⁷⁶ On February 15, 1844, the charter of the Bank of Wooster was extended to January 1, 1850, and that part of the Latham and Bartley Laws which applied to the Bank of Wooster repealed. Other provisions made the stockholders of the bank individually liable for the debts of the bank, limited the power of the directors to obtain loans to one-half of the capital

¹⁷³ *Ohio Statesman*, February 13, 1844.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, February 15, 1844.

¹⁷⁵ H. C. Whitman to William Allen, November 23, 1845. Allen MSS., v. VIII.

¹⁷⁶ Charles Wolcott, J. M. Cooper, M. A. Goodfellow, and others to Allen, March 11, 1845, Allen MSS., v. VIII.

stock possessed by such persons, compelled the Wooster Bank to keep one dollar in gold and silver for every three dollars in circulation, and applied the same privileges and conditions to the Lafayette Bank of Cincinnati and the Bank of Xenia.¹⁷⁷ This action marks the first break in the hitherto solid front of the Democrats on banking questions and before the end of the session the same privileges were extended to the Bank of Sandusky and the Bank of Norwalk.¹⁷⁸ The Democrats yielded in the face of a bitter fight between the conservatives, supporting Cass, and the radicals, supporting Van Buren.

The Whigs of the House were not content with these compromises, however, and, soon after the organization of the General Assembly, introduced a bill to repeal the Latham and Bartley Laws and to extend the charters of the Bank of Geauga and the Commercial Bank of Cincinnati. The party was eager to secure a banking measure before the charters of two other banks would expire on January 1, 1844. By uninterrupted sessions, the bill was forced through the house, December 22nd, by a strict party vote except that Green, a conservative Democrat of Fairfield County, joined the Whigs.¹⁷⁹ This bill was drafted as a political manifesto, for it was clear that the Democratic Senate would not support it. It was a bit of Whig strategy to widen the breach between the Shannon Democrats and the defenders of the Latham Law. It was clear also, by this time, that Tyler was irretrievably lost to his party, and the favorable comments on Shannon's policy from the Ty-

¹⁷⁷ *Laws of Ohio*, v. XLII, pp. 41-42.

¹⁷⁸ *Laws of Ohio*, v. XLII, pp. 41-42.

¹⁷⁹ *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, December 27, 1843.

ler press showed an alliance between the States Rights men and the conservative Democrats. In November, 1843, in a letter to a committee of Tyler men in Cleveland, published in the *Old School Republican*, Shannon endorsed the Democracy of Tyler and asserted that he was worthy of the support of the Democrats.¹⁸⁰ The Democratic schism became evident to all when Shannon was made minister to Mexico in 1844.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, Shannon had mortally offended the radicals of his party by commending those Democratic senators who had joined the Whigs in giving special concessions to the Bank of Wooster.¹⁸² The attacks of radical Democrats on Shannon became so sharp that in February, 1844, Shannon published a defense in the *St. Clairsville Gazette*. His views on banking were commended by the *Ohio State Journal* as good Whig doctrine.¹⁸³

The Democrats met in State Convention January 8, 1844, and nominated David Tod for governor on a strong anti-bank platform.¹⁸⁴ To make his position perfectly clear, Tod, a few days after his nomination, announced his support of the Bartley Law, in a speech in Columbus. There is some evidence to show that pressure was brought to bear on Tod by the conservatives to get him to modify his views on banking and currency. On January 27th, in a letter to the Democratic Central Committee of Cuyahoga County, the candidate admitted the necessity of banks and declared

¹⁸⁰ *Old School Republican*, a reprint of letter in *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, November 29, 1843.

¹⁸¹ Reeves, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 170.

¹⁸² *Ohio State Journal*, June 7, 1843.

¹⁸³ *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, February 28, 1844.

¹⁸⁴ *Ohio Statesman*, January 8, 9, 1844.

himself in favor of the old system with some modifications,¹⁸⁵ although these modifications deviated but little from the principles of the Bartley Law. The Whigs attempted to construe his new pronunciamento as contrary to the platform of January 8th,¹⁸⁶ but the Cincinnati *Daily Enquirer* (D) saw no evidence, in the letter, of Tod's abandonment of his former principles. From the comments of the *Enquirer* the *Ohio State Journal* concluded that the purpose of the letter was to deceive the bank Democrats and that Tod was really a "destructive."¹⁸⁷

Early in December, the Whig State Central Committee issued a call for a State Convention, on January 10, 1844, to select a candidate for governor and to appoint delegates to the Whig National Convention. Reform of the state government was the main note sounded in the official call.¹⁸⁸ Thomas Corwin, chairman of the Whig State Convention, was lauded by Henry Stanbery,¹⁸⁹ of Lancaster, as the first choice of the party for governor, but he firmly declined another nomination. Jeremiah Morrow, of Warren, and Seabury Ford,¹⁹⁰ of Geauga, were named as delegates to the National Con-

¹⁸⁵ *Ohio State Journal*, June 6, 1844.

¹⁸⁶ *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, March 13, 1844.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* March 27, 1844.

¹⁸⁸ *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, December 20, 1843.

¹⁸⁹ Stanbery attained prominence later as United States Attorney-General in Johnson's administration and as counsel for Johnson in the impeachment proceedings. John Spencer Bassett, *A Short History of the United States, 1492-1920*, p. 615.

¹⁹⁰ Ford represented Geauga County in the General Assembly as senator in 1842-1844, *Ohio Senate Journals*, 1842-1843, v. XLI, p. 4; represented Fairfield County in same body as representative in 1835-1836, *Ohio House Journals*, 1835-1836, v. XXXIV, p. 1; was elected governor 1848 but did not take office until early part of 1849.

vention. The Convention urged greater economy in the State government and an adequate currency. For the governorship the Whigs nominated David Spangler of Coshocton.¹⁹¹ The latter was not present at the Convention, and when notified of his nomination, promptly declined on personal and private grounds.¹⁹² Spangler's declination disrupted the Whig plans, and a second Whig Convention, which was much more fully attended and more enthusiastic than the first, nominated Mordecai Bartley,¹⁹³ of Richland County, for governor.¹⁹⁴

The state elections of 1844 were fought out in the midst of the national campaign between Polk and Clay. The Ohio Whigs united under the leadership of Clay, but the Ohio Democrats fought long and valiantly in the Baltimore Convention in behalf of Van Buren and acquiesced in the final selection of Polk with bad grace. The radicals, however, found solace in the defeat of Cass. Solidarity on national issues was a distinct aid to the Whigs of Ohio in the state election. On the other hand, the Democratic slogan for the "Re-annexation of Texas and the Re-occupation of Oregon" appealed to the naturally imperialistic and expansionist Northwest.

In the course of the campaign personal attacks were

¹⁹¹ *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, January 17, 1844.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, January 24, 1844.

¹⁹³ Bartley was a native of Fayette County, Pennsylvania. In 1809 he settled in Jefferson County, Ohio, and in the War of 1812 he joined the army as captain. He later served under Harrison on the Maumee. In 1814 he moved to Richland County. In 1818 he was elected to the Senate and four years later to Congress. He was in Congress eight years and at the end of that time declined renomination. While in Congress he gave his influence in behalf of river and harbor appropriations for the lake region. In 1842 he was admitted to the bar. *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, February 28, 1844.

¹⁹⁴ *Ohio State Journal*, February 22, 1844.

made on David Tod. He was accused of "Rank Infidelity" because of his alleged association with men of irreligious character and because he had opposed a bill in the General Assembly prohibiting the sale of liquor around Methodist camp meetings.¹⁹⁵ Tod was also charged with a lack of patriotic sentiment. It was reported that in connection with an incident in Philadelphia, in which an Irish mob tore down an American flag, Tod had said that if he had been present he would have aided in trampling that flag into the dust.¹⁹⁶

In spite of these attempts to muddle the issue, the problem of banking and currency would not down as the chief issue of the state campaign. The *Xenia Torch-Light* (W) reminded the voters that the currency question was unsettled, and argued that "The cry of 'Bank Reform' with which the Locofoco leaders have so long been deluding their followers, has been fully proved to be a shameless fraud. They are now known to be Bank destructionists. Their legislation has kept us dependent upon the scanty and unsafe circulating medium which is now in use in this State. It is all-important that we should have a Whig Legislature, therefore, in order that we may get a safe and sufficient banking system."¹⁹⁷ Thompson's *Bank Note Reporter* declared that "The people of Ohio care little about Clay or Polk, and less about Texas, and less still about distribution. They

¹⁹⁵ *Xenia Torch-Light*, August 8, 1844.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, August 15, 1844.

¹⁹⁷ The Whig press of the State reported the old charge that the Democratic plan to reform the banks was only an excuse to demolish them. *Xenia Torch-Light*, September 19, 1844; *Ohio State Journal*, September 21, 1844.

feel the want of a circulating medium, in which they can have confidence. . . ."¹⁹⁸

The refusal of the banks to incorporate under the general banking laws in existence resulted in an invasion of Ohio by foreign bank paper. By December, 1844, according to the report of the Bank Commissioners, the foreign bank paper in Ohio amounted to \$7,473,483.00, much of which was not based upon good security.¹⁹⁹ The natural result of this situation was a reaction against the Democrats. This was accentuated by the indifference of some of the Democratic voters to the national ticket led by Polk and by the division within their ranks over the matter of banking and currency. Many radical Democrats remained dissatisfied with Tod's stand on the currency. The *Kalida Venture*, a radical paper throughout the decade, declared that Tod had shown the "cloven foot" and that the voters must choose "whether they will have David Tod or Mordecai Bartley to promulgate the monstrous bank heresies from the chair of State." The same organ actually took down the name of Tod from its editorial column on the ground that he had succumbed to a "time-serving weakness."²⁰⁰ Tod was caught between two forces in the Democratic party. On the one hand, were the conservatives who would refuse to support him if he took a radical position on the problems of banking and currency. On the other hand, there were the radical Democrats who insisted upon Tod's support of the Bartley Law as a price of their

¹⁹⁸ Thompson's *Bank Note Reporter* quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, August 29, 1844.

¹⁹⁹ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1844, No. 55.

²⁰⁰ *Kalida Venture* quoted in *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, April 3, 1844.

votes. When he first announced himself in favor of the Bartley Law, Delazon Smith, a conservative Democratic leader of Dayton, rejected his nomination and in a letter published in the Dayton *Miamian* condemned the "hard money clique" at the Capitol. He declared that Medary, Allen, Brough, McNulty, Weller, and Medill met in a caucus in 1843 to determine the succession to the higher offices. If anyone were bold enough to question their decision he was promptly cast into political oblivion. Smith charged it was determined at this conference to elect Tod governor and send Medary to the United States Senate in case the Democrats won control of the Legislature in October, 1845.²⁰¹

The result of all these complications in the election of 1844, was to give the Whigs control of the General Assembly and to elect Mordecai Bartley governor of the State.²⁰² The incoming Whig governor referred in general terms to the need of an adequate banking system and left the working out of the details of the Whig program to the leaders of the party in the Legislature.²⁰³ The Whigs, in control of both branches of the General Assembly, were free to carry out their policies. In evolving their plan no one was more active than Alfred Kelley, a member of the Canal Fund Commission since 1841.²⁰⁴ Elected to the Ohio Senate in the fall elections of 1844, Kelley was appointed chairman of the Senate Committee on the Currency. On January 7, 1845, this committee introduced a banking measure known as a

²⁰¹ Reprint of the letter in *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, January 31, 1844.

²⁰² *Weekly Ohio State Journal*, October 23, 1844.

²⁰³ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1844, v. IX, No. 2.

²⁰⁴ James L. Bates, *Alfred Kelley, His Life and Work*, 1888, p. 102.

bill "To incorporate the State Bank of Ohio and other banking companies."

The Kelley Bank Bill, as it was called, expressed the Whig notions of a proper banking system and became the central issue on banking and currency matters for the remainder of the decade. Its passage in 1845 marks the end of another period in the history of banking and currency in Ohio politics. It was the Whig answer to a series of Democratic laws. Because the Whigs felt the necessity of some safeguard for banking operations, they did not neglect to put into the law numerous restrictions which had not been found proper in the days of unregulated banking. Thus the Democratic plea for the popular control of corporate wealth bore some fruit in the plan put forth by their opponents.

An examination of the Kelley Banking Law shows that in addition to the old banks already in existence, it provided for two new classes, the State Bank of Ohio, and independent banks. Five or more persons were authorized to form a banking company, and the total stock of all banks, not including the stock of banks already in existence, was not to exceed \$6,150,000.00. In order to prevent any section of Ohio from monopolizing the banking capital, the State was divided into twelve districts and a limitation was placed on the number of banks and the amount of capital in each district. All applications for the establishment of a bank were to be presented to a Board of Control,²⁰⁵ composed, after one year, of the Auditor of State, the Treasurer, and the Secretary of State. A maximum of \$500,000 and a

²⁰⁵ The first members of the Board of Control were John W. Allen, Joseph Olds, Daniel Kilgore, Alexander Grimes, and Gustavus Swan.

minimum of \$100,000 capital stock was fixed for each branch of the State Bank, while a minimum of \$50,000 was fixed for independent banks. The State Bank could be organized by the qualification of seven branch banks and the appointment by each of a representative to the Board of Control, whose function was the general supervision of the member banks.

The popular demand for specie payment was met by the provision that all notes were payable on demand in gold or silver. The Democratic clamor for limitation of note issue was answered in the provision that the circulation of each bank was dependent on its capital stock.²⁰⁶ Every branch bank had to pay to the Board of Control ten per cent of the amount of notes it received to be held by the Board of Control as a circulating safety fund which could be invested either in State stock, United States stock, or in first mortgage real estate bonds. Branch banks were to receive interest on their portion of the funds invested.

The Whigs did not meet the popular demand for individual liability. By the new law, the stockholders of any bank were not liable as debtors or sureties to the bank for an amount exceeding one-third of their paid-in capital stock. This was a distinct compromise on an important issue and was designed to enable the capitalists of the State to invest in banks without so much danger to their property as existed under the Latham and Bart-

²⁰⁶ On the first \$100,000.00 of capital stock the bank was allowed to issue twice as many notes; on the second \$100,000.00 one and one-fourth times as many notes; while on the fourth \$100,000.00 or any amount beyond the bank could issue only three-fourths that amount in notes. It will be observed that the Democratic plea to limit the note issue by the amount of specie actually in the bank was not a feature of the Kelley Law.

ley Laws. Director's liabilities were limited to one-fourth of their paid-in stock.²⁰⁷

Provisions were made also for independent banks. The chief difference between the two systems consisted in the means by which each was safeguarded against frauds. The independent banks were protected from failure by that portion of the Kelley Law which forced them to deposit state or United States stock with the Treasurer of Ohio to be used by that official as a fund to redeem the notes of the banks. The responsibility of stockholders and directors of independent banks for loss to noteholders was even less than the liability of similar officials of the State banks for such occurrences.

Other clauses provided that any branch of the State Bank could be closed at any time with the consent of the Board of Control; that every bank was to keep on hand at all times gold or silver equal to thirty per cent of its circulation; that six per cent of the bank dividends were to be paid to the State as taxes, and that the amount which could be loaned to any one person or firm be limited.²⁰⁸ Another provision, whereby banks were taxed only upon their profits, became a topic of bitter political controversy during the latter half of the decade. A supplementary act was passed by the Whigs in March to prohibit unauthorized banking and unauthorized bank paper.²⁰⁹ This was intended to keep worthless foreign bank paper out of Ohio.

²⁰⁷ Any branch bank became insolvent when it refused to redeem its notes in specie. In that case, a receiver was to be appointed by the Board of Control, and the stocks in the safety fund offered for sale to enable the insolvent bank to meet its payments.

²⁰⁸ *Laws of Ohio*, v. XLIII, pp. 24-55.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, v. XLIII, p. 121.

The Kelley Bank Law was attacked from the first by the Democrats as an invitation to the "shinplaster" institutions again to rob the people by a wholesale issue of worthless paper. It was defended by the Whigs as a piece of constructive legislation necessary for the welfare of the State.²¹⁰ As a matter of fact, the Kelley Law did not satisfy all the Whigs, many of whom wanted to return to a system of unrestricted banking.²¹¹ Fears that the regulatory provisions of the new law would prevent the investment of capitalists in banking proved unfounded. By July, 1845, the seven branch banks required for the organization of a State Bank were incorporated and the banking machinery as outlined by the Kelley Law went into operation.²¹² At the same time eight other corporations had organized as independent banks.²¹³ The number of banks in the State gradually increased throughout the period under investigation. In 1845, Governor Mordecai Bartley, in a message to the Legislature, declared that "already the people of Ohio begin to feel the influence of this system in the restoration of confidence, the revival of business, the increase of the wages of labor, and the rising prosperity of the State."²¹⁴

In the meantime, the radical Democrats were making plans to destroy the political influence of the conservatives in their party. The former were led by the impetuous and "shaggy haired" H. C. Whitman, of Lancaster, the adroit, fiery, and energetic Samuel Medary,

²¹⁰ *Ohio Statesman*, April—October, 1845; *Ohio State Journal*, April—October, 1845.

²¹¹ *Xenia Torch-Light*, January 23, 1845.

²¹² *Ibid.*, July 3, 1845.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1845.

²¹⁴ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1845, v. I, p. 5.

of the *Ohio Statesman*, and Thomas W. Bartley, author of the last Democratic banking measure. They accused the conservatives of betraying the party by yielding to the bankers. Control of the Federal patronage proved a powerful weapon in this internal party struggle, and the radicals, who seemed to have the confidence of the Polk administration, proceeded to wield this power for their own ends. William Allen, Democratic Senator from Ohio, was chairman of the important Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs,²¹⁵ and, in March, 1845, ten of the leading Democrats of Wayne County urged him to warn the Administration against the appointments of "softs" to Federal offices. The defection and consequent defeat of the Democrats in Wayne County and throughout the State were charged to the "softs."²¹⁶ Whitman assured Allen that the conservatives must be "crushed."²¹⁷

Chief among the conservatives or "softs" was Governor Shannon who had been instrumental in the passage of the law exempting the Bank of Wooster from the Bartley Law. The radical Democrats, through Allen, defeated the appointment of Shannon to the office of district attorney for Ohio, and secured this political plum for T. W. Bartley, as a reward for his services against the banks.²¹⁸ William Smith, a "soft" money Democrat endorsed by Cass and the Ohio conservatives, lost the collectorship of the port of Cleveland to Dr. Smith In-

²¹⁵ McGrane, Reginald C., *William Allen, A Study in Western Democracy*.

²¹⁶ Wolcott, Cooper, Goodfellow, and others to Allen, March 11, 1845, Allen MSS., v. VII.

²¹⁷ Whitman to Allen, November 23, 1845, Allen MSS., v. VIII.

²¹⁸ Dunbar and Gotshall to Allen, March 11, 1845, Allen MSS., v. VII.

glehart.²¹⁹ In the midst of this division in the ranks of the Ohio Democracy, Medary sold the *Ohio Statesman* to C. C. Hazewell, of Rhode Island. This transaction and the course subsequently pursued by the new owner tended to accentuate the bitterness between the two factions of the Democrats.²²⁰ So effective was the campaign against the "softs" that by December, 1845, T. J. Morgan, editor of the *Ohio Patriot* (New Lisbon, Ohio), could write to Allen that "The advance of radical doctrines has never been so rapid in Ohio as within the last three months. Almost a score of papers have taken open hard money ground . . . the avowed softs in Ohio are evidently becoming alarmed and cry out for compromise."²²¹

The campaign of 1845 was one of the most important in the history of the banking controversy. The Democrats met in Columbus July 4, 1845, ostensibly to devise means for the better organization of the party. But the Convention took a strong position on banking. The resolution on the currency stated that the Democracy of

²¹⁹ Medary to Allen, April 29, 1845, Allen MSS., v. VIII.

²²⁰ Hazewell, a native of Rhode Island, had begun his newspaper career by writing for the *Boston Post*. Later, he had taken charge of the *Nantucket Islander*. It appeared from the testimony of his enemies in Massachusetts, including Marcus Morton, that Hazewell had been none too successful in this and other newspaper ventures in that State. This information concerning Hazewell was collected by Tappan, in the hope of so discrediting him among the radical Democrats that they would support Tappan in his proposal to start a radical newspaper at the capitol to counteract the influence of the *Ohio Statesman*. Unsigned note of Marcus Morton attached to letter of Tappan to Allen, August 12, 1845, Allen MSS., v. VIII; *Cong. Globe*, 26th Cong., 1st Sess., v. VIII, p. 1; Martin to Allen, January 5, 1846, Allen MSS., v. X.

²²¹ Morgan to Allen, December 2, 1845, Allen MSS., v. VIII. During Polk's administration, federal funds were withdrawn from the Bank of Wooster at the request of the radical Democracy of Ohio—*Ohio State Journal*, August 28, 1845.

Ohio must endeavor "to maintain the freedom and independence of the State, and deliver it from the bondage of a corrupt, irresponsible, and swindling system of monopolies, by the immediate repeal of the act passed by the Federalists in the last Legislature" and also "provide safe and efficient remedies for the people against fraudulent banking institutions, and other corporations by restoring the laws repealed by the Federalists, or by passing other efficient laws for the purpose."²²² These resolutions clearly meant the repeal of the Kelley Banking Law and the restoration of the Latham Law or another of its kind, should the Democrats be returned to power.

In March, 1845, the Whig Legislature passed a new revenue law, taxing all property according to its cash valuation. This was attacked immediately by the Democrats, chiefly because it carried no special provision for taxing the banks.²²³ According to the Kelley Banking Law, banks were taxable at the rate of six per cent upon their net dividends.²²⁴ The Democrats claimed that bank stock should be taxed at the same rate as all other property, and denounced the law as burdensome and oppressive and as special legislation. The Whigs countered with the claim that a change in the method of taxation would be a violation of the bank charters which were to be considered as contracts. The decisions of John Marshall on the inviolabilities of charters and contracts had become almost as sacred as the Constitution itself, in the minds of conservative Whigs of the 'forties. They claimed, furthermore, that banks were paying more revenue into the State treasury under their charters than

²²² *Ohio Statesman*, July 7, 1845.

²²³ *Ohio Statesman*, July 7, 1845.

²²⁴ *Laws of Ohio*, v. XLIII, pp. 24-55.

they would if they were on the regular tax duplicate.²²⁵ The Democrats replied that if this were true the banks should petition to be placed on the regular tax duplicate.²²⁶ The Whigs eagerly accepted the issue as outlined by the Democratic State Convention.²²⁷ The *Ohio State Journal* appealed to the voters of the State to preserve the credit of the government, and denounced the Democrats as "experimenters" and "disorganizers."²²⁸ The same organ charged that the scarcity of banking institutions in the eastern part of the State was attributable to the destructive policy of the Democrats which forced the people of that section to depend on foreign bankers for their circulating medium.²²⁹

The Democratic press was equally vigorous. The *Ohio Statesman* condemned, as dangerous, the "powers given the Board of Control, of making money scarce when they wish to buy, and plenty when they wish to sell—of contracting today and expanding it tomorrow . . ." ²³⁰, and, a week later, contrasted the privileges of the people with the privileges of the bankers under the new Whig law. It was pointed out that one dollar of

²²⁵ The whole question of taxation in Ohio from the financial point of view is well treated in E. L. Bogart's "Financial History of Ohio," *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, v. I, pp. 181-256.

²²⁶ *Ohio Statesman*, April-May, 1845.

²²⁷ The *Xenia Torch-Light* declared that "The State, if it is possible, is again to become the plunder-ground of the 'red-dog' and wild-cat institutions of other States, over which the people of Ohio have no control, and from the circulation of whose paper they derive no profit, while they are liable to sustain great losses. . . . The season of prosperity which has just commenced to dawn upon us is to be darkened—the new Banks are to be knocked in the head, and the impracticable 'Latham-humbug' and 'Bartley amendments' are to take their places." *Xenia Torch-Light*, July 17, 1845.

²²⁸ *Xenia Torch-Light*, July 8, 1845.

²²⁹ *Ohio State Journal*, July 12, 1845.

²³⁰ *Ohio Statesman*, July 7, 1845.

specie allowed the banker to issue three dollars of notes while the people had to conduct business on the principle of "dollar for dollar." Under the Kelley Law, bankers obtained interest on what they owed, while the people paid interest under the same circumstances. A long list of grievances concluded with the statement that "The people have been bound hand and foot. A brainless aristocracy of money is about riding 'booted and spurred' over them, and their rights filched from them."²³¹

Many radical Democrats, who resented the leadership of Hazewell, refused to accept such anti-bank expressions as indicative of the new editor's real position, charging that he was too lenient toward the Bank of Wooster.²³² The *American Union* of Steubenville, Tappan's organ, joined the attack on Hazewell, asserting that he was a conservative and that he would not be faithful to the party.²³³ Hazewell defended himself vigorously in the *Statesman* but he failed to receive the confidence of his party which had begun to feel the need of Medary's guiding hand.

Although weakened by party dissensions, the Democrats carried on an energetic campaign in their county and district conventions. Marion County Democrats raised the "standard of repeal" and charged that the Kelley Banking Law benefited the privileged aristocracy only.²³⁴ The Medina County Democrats demanded the passage of a new banking law like the Democratic banking laws of 1842 and 1843.²³⁵ The Democratic Sena-

²³¹ *Ohio Statesman*, July 14, 1845.

²³² *Ohio State Journal*, August 28, 1845.

²³³ *Ohio Statesman*, August 18, September 3, 1845.

²³⁴ *Ohio Statesman*, September 1, 1845.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, September 24, 1845.

torial Convention for the counties of Allen, Williams, Mercer, Henry, Paulding, Putnam, Van Wert, and Defiance took an even more radical position. In violent language the Democracy of those counties declared that they had no compromise to offer to the banks and that they would "henceforth advocate nothing short of the total expiration of the entire system, under whatever form proposed."²³⁶ Such opinions from the Ohio Democrats led the *Baltimore American* to comment, "The principles of Locofocoism in Ohio are set forth with a naked ultraism which disdains all reserve or concealment,"²³⁷ and the *Ohio State Journal* accused the Democrats of trying to "stir up the baser passions, to array one class against another, and to awaken jealousies, heartburnings and strife."²³⁸ The *Ohio Statesman* turned the charge on the Whigs, and accused them of arraying one portion of society against another "by giving to the few special privileges by which they garner up the greater portion of the results of industry and skill of the masses."²³⁹

Although, in the northeastern section of the State, greater emphasis was placed on national issues like slavery in the District of Columbia, and the annexation of Texas,²⁴⁰ most of the Whig county conventions approved the new Whig banking law and condemned the proposals of the Democrats to repeal it.²⁴¹ The Cuyahoga County Whigs approved the Kelley Law because it was "well calculated to give us a safe and sound paper

²³⁶ *Ohio Statesman*, September 24, 1845.

²³⁷ *Baltimore American* quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, September 30, 1845.

²³⁸ *Ohio State Journal*, September 11, 1845.

²³⁹ *Ohio Statesman*, September 12, 1845.

²⁴⁰ *Ohio State Journal*, October 4, 1845.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, September 23, 1845.

currency, convertible into specie at the will of the bill holder, and while it gives security to the public, at the same time yields to the banker fair and reasonable profits."²⁴² The orthodox Whig argument for banks as a necessity to modern civilization was shown in the resolutions of the Hamilton County Whigs, which urged that a hard money system was an adjunct of monarchical government, a characteristic of savagery, and a burden on the labouring classes.²⁴³ Other considerations figured in the election of October, 1845. The Democrats appealed to the German vote by accusing the Whigs of an alliance with the native Americans, who favored extending the period of naturalization to twenty-one years.²⁴⁴ The Whigs appealed to the ultra-religiously minded by charging Benjamin Tappan, former Democratic Senator from Ohio, as being a "boasting infidel," and the *Ohio State Journal* questioned whether men "thus reckless of morality, decency, and truth" are "fit persons to legislate for a Christian Nation."²⁴⁵

The election ended in a victory for the Whigs. In the Senate twelve Whigs and six Democrats held over and six Whigs and six Democrats were returned. In the House there were thirty-eight Whigs and twenty-two Democrats.²⁴⁶ Among the most prominent members of this General Assembly were Alfred Kelley (W); William L. Perkins (W), destined to be more prominent in the election of 1848; Seabury Ford who later became governor of the State; and Clement L. Vallandigham,

²⁴² *Ohio State Journal*, October 4, 1845.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1845.

²⁴⁴ Dayton *Western Empire* quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, October 9, 1845.

²⁴⁵ October 13, 1845.

²⁴⁶ *Ohio Statesman*, October 20, 1845.

who became a recognized leader of the Democratic party in the State during the 'forties and during the Civil War, attained national prominence as a Peace Democrat.²⁴⁷ The Whigs interpreted the results as an endorsement of their banking policies and the *Ohio State Journal* declared that "No issue has ever been more distinctly presented to the people of this State at an election, than that of the Currency and Banks at that which has just passed They, the Democrats, have been most signally rebuked by the people, and the truth stands proclaimed that the property holders, the business men of the State—the Farmers, Merchants and Mechanics, will not suffer the produce of their toil, the earnings of their industry, to be depressed and carried off under the wasteful influence of a vitiated currency furnished by speculators and shavers from abroad."²⁴⁸ It appears that the Whig victory in 1845 was a result of divisions within the ranks of the Democrats; of a systematic program of intimidation on the part of the Whigs; of the conservative appeal to the fear of change; and of an unwillingness on the part of the electorate to change a system which promised to save them from an invasion of foreign bank paper over which they had no control.

Undaunted by their serious reverses in October, the radical anti-bank Democrats laid plans to capture the next State Convention to be held at Columbus, January 8, 1846,²⁴⁹ for it was clear already that the election of

²⁴⁷ Personnel of the General Assembly given in *Ohio Statesman*, October 22, 1845.

²⁴⁸ *Ohio State Journal*, October 28, 1845.

²⁴⁹ As a result of party pressure and the fear of competition from Tappan's proposed radical paper at the Capitol, Hazewell of the *Statesman* gradually came around to a more complete anti-bank position. *Ohio Statesman*, December, 1845—January, 1846.

1846 would be another referendum on the bank question. Throughout December, Democratic county conventions urged David Tod for governor in 1846.²⁵⁰ As early as November, 1845, H. C. Whitman, the arch-enemy of the banks, took pains to ascertain the opinions of Tod on banks and the currency. It will be recalled that Tod had attempted, in 1844, to secure the votes of both wings of his party and Whitman's letter was written to assure Tod that he could not get the support of the hard money Democrats without taking a more advanced position. This letter throws a flood of light on Ohio politics in this period and warrants extended quotation. The letter was addressed to Senator Allen to be referred by him to Tod and is as follows: "I write to ask you a favor—which is—if you feel authorized to assure me on the point as to David Tod's present views on the currency question. He is represented indirectly by a late number of the *Trumbull Democrat*, to be in favor of banks still. If his views are sound and for the 'hard' and he is willing to avow himself so, I shall take measures to allow him to express himself publicly before the 8th Jany. At the present time he could not receive the nomination by the votes of the Hards. It will be a very great favor indeed if I can learn from you his present views, as, if they are not sound, I do not wish him to express himself publicly as it would but aid the conservatives. If he is not sound, I am in favor of [Edwin M.] Stanton . . . I feel Col. More than usual anxiety about Tod's views for the following reasons. The conservatives . . . care not a copper for the currency question save as a means to their po-

²⁵⁰ *Ohio Statesman*, December 10-31, 1845.

litical ends. They have conspired, banded together to crush the True Men in Ohio, to enable them to lead the party and obtain a Cass delegation in 1848. In my opinion the election of President in 1848 depends materially on what the Ohio delegation in the National Convention will do. If that delegation shall be made of true and stern men, Lewis Cass may be defeated if the right man is nominated in opposition to him before the Con—If the true men fail and are divided and the Conservatives prevail on the 8, Ohio is lost for Cass. Some suspicion now exists against Tod among the True Men. Before that Con [vention] meets, all must be arranged and understood. If Tod will come out straight for the Hards, we can ostracise any d——d corrupt rascal in the Conservative Ranks. The hour has come. *Shannon must be crushed.* They are well organized, unscrupulous, desperate, playing as men do the game of Revolution for their very heads. Our men are not roused, not organized, and the Ranks must be filled up, discipline and order restored before the 8, or the Hards there will appear a faction, Shannon and Co., the party. Tod's views we must know. I for one will not vote for any man who is in favor of monopolies of any kind.”²⁵¹

²⁵¹ Benjamin Tappan and other radical Democrats were equally anxious to know whether Tod would come out boldly for the principles avowed in Whitman's letter. According to Medary, Tod's position had been misconstrued because his views on the currency question had been misrepresented by the *Ohio Patriot*. This paper, edited by T. J. Morgan, who claimed to have the confidence of both wings of the party, had now “put itself right.” Medary thought that “softism since the President message [was] the poorest of God's creation, not worthy of anyone's worship or even tampering with.” Medary's confidence was reflected in the tone of another letter from Whitman to Allen on the 10th of December informing Allen that he need not reply to his former letter of inquiry. Others were not so confident, however. Rufus E. Hart, State Democratic senator and member of the Senate Committee on Federal Relations, wrote that “there seems to be

Thus political lines were being drawn in 1845 and 1846 to determine the choice of Ohio for president in 1848, and, as in 1844, the conservative Democrats were identified with the Cass movement while the radical wing of the party still clung to Van Buren as the representative of true Jacksonian anti-bank principles.

There was a movement among the conservative Democrats to substitute Thomas L. Hamer for Tod as the candidate in 1846. It was claimed that Tod's nomination was being manipulated in secret by a clique of radicals and that it lacked popular approval. Tod's supporters replied that their favorite was the choice of many county conventions, and that the Hamer move-

the Devil to pay amongst the Ohio Democrats on the subject of the currency." The division soon became so evident that the *Ohio Statesman* was forced to admit its existence, although it contended that the difference was not fundamental but merely one of means and not of ends. That organ furthermore pointed to the resolutions of the Columbiana County Democrats as the proper ground for the party to assume at that time. These resolutions, written by T. J. Morgan, protested against "any effort . . . on the one hand to drive the party forward with impetuosity, or on the other hand, to retard its steady progress by an unworthy abandonment of the ground already assumed." Hazewell's position on the currency question is shown by the fact that he selected for publication only those parts of the Columbiana County resolutions which supported a middle ground position. Morgan, who was anxious not to ruin Tod's candidacy by being interpreted as a bank conservative, protested against Hazewell's selection and pointed to the remainder of the resolutions, as more truly representative of the attitude of the party. Other resolutions approved a "discreet and persevering agitation" of the currency question in order to hasten the day when the Constitution of Ohio would be remodeled and the issue of paper money by corporations or individuals forbidden by the fundamental law of the State. Morgan took occasion to regret that Hazewell had not taken such a strong ground on the currency question as his predecessor, Medary. H. C. Whitman to Allen, November 23, 1845, Allen MSS.; Tappan to Allen, November 30, 1845; T. J. Morgan to ?, December 2, 1845; Medary to Allen, December 9, 1845; Whitman to Allen, December 10, 1845; Hart to Allen, December 20, 1845, Allen MSS., vols. V, VIII, IX. *Ohio Statesman*, November 26, 1845; *Ohio Statesman*, October 26, 1845; *Ohio Patriot* quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, December 23, 1845.

ment was the work of revengeful, disgruntled traitors who had been refused appointments under the Polk administration.²⁵² There probably was some truth in this statement, for the radicals were in control of the Federal patronage in Ohio and were using it to force adherence to their policies on state matters.

The policy of the Whig majority in the Legislature helped, to some degree, to unify the Democrats. The *Ohio State Journal* had advised, at the beginning of the session, against further experimentation, and had pronounced the Kelley banking plan the best system in operation anywhere in the United States. "If the Loco-focos," this paper continued, "want to test it, let them. The sooner the better. If they want individual liability when the public are already secured beyond possible hazard, let them propose it, and then vote it down without any talk or noise."²⁵³ But the issue of banking and currency would not down. When the lower House prepared to elect a speaker, Charles Reemelin, a German hard money Democrat from Cincinnati, offered a resolution that no bank officer would be eligible to that office. His proposal was rejected by a strict party alignment.²⁵⁴ During the course of a debate in the Senate on state stocks, Alfred P. Edgerton (D) had expressed a desire to depreciate the value of the Ohio state stocks if thereby he might strike a blow at the banks.²⁵⁵ In spite of attempts by conservative Democrats, like Dowty Utter, a

²⁵² Conclusion taken from letters in *Ohio Statesman*, November 14, 24, 1844.

²⁵³ *Ohio State Journal*, December 9, 1845; *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1845, v. X, part 1, No. 1, pp. 5-6; *Ohio Statesman*, December 3, 1845.

²⁵⁴ *Ohio Statesman*, December 1, 1845.

²⁵⁵ *Ohio State Journal*, December 11, 1845; *Kalida Venture*, December 23, 1845, quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, December 31, 1845.

veteran political leader from Clermont County, and prominently mentioned for the governorship, to suppress the issue, the Democrats insisted on making it the leading question in the next campaign.²⁵⁶

In the fall of 1845, the Democratic State Central Committee sounded the call for another State Convention, reminding the party that "A system of unequal laws, extensive immunities, and aristocratic privileges [had been] established, through the most magnificent and corrupting, if not the most fraudulent scheme of banking, for the benefit of one class, while oppressive taxes and its train of attendant evils [had been] reserved for another."²⁵⁷ Most of the delegates selected in the county conventions were instructed for Tod, and the resolutions adopted were practically unanimous in condemning the Kelley Banking Law.²⁵⁸ The control of the State Convention by the radicals was evidenced by the choice of Samuel Medary as president. At the psychological moment, Medary introduced a letter from Tod, who had a majority of the instructed delegates, revealing Tod as an extreme anti-bank man. Whitman had done his work well. The conservatives attempted to prevent the reading of the letter, but amid a great deal of confusion, the "views" of the already selected candidate were made known.²⁵⁹ After dwelling upon the iniquities of the Whig banking scheme, Tod declared that, although he had once thought banks might "be so guarded and restricted by legislative provisions, as to be of sufficient benefit to tolerate their existence, subse-

²⁵⁶ Letter from Utter printed in *Georgetown Standard*, January 8, 1846, and reprinted in *Ohio State Journal*, January 13, 1846.

²⁵⁷ *Ohio Statesman*, November 24, 1845.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, December 1, 1845; January 8, 1846.

²⁵⁹ *Xenia Torch-Light*, January 15, 1846; *Ohio Press*, May 19, 1847.

quent reflection and experience" had convinced him that "any system of banking that can be devised, must be based upon unequal privileges by which the few gain wealth and power at the expense of the many." Accordingly, past experience seemed to indicate the necessity of a State Convention to amend the Constitution so as to prohibit the "granting of all charters and exclusive privileges." Indeed, the restriction of monopolies and special privileges was a part of the general reform movement in Ohio which culminated in the Constitutional Convention of 1851.²⁶⁰

Radical Democrats like Samuel Medary, H. C. Whitman, T. W. Bartley and Alfred P. Edgerton welcomed the Tod letter with grim joy, for it meant the defeat of their opponents and the triumph of Van Buren principles in the State.²⁶¹

In spite of opposition from the conservatives, the Convention resolved, "That the Democracy of Ohio are opposed to all paper currency, and are resolved to return to the constitutional currency of gold and silver." Uncompromising hostility was declared for all chartered and special privileges. At the same time, the right of the United States to all territory on the Pacific Coast to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes was asserted in

²⁶⁰ See Chapter VII.

²⁶¹ They had laid their plans well and the Convention carried them out. According to Matthias Martin, Benjamin Tappan was as "uncompromising upon hard money as the Rock of Gibraltar" and wanted to make it the sole issue. Martin differed because he felt that the party could not unite on this single issue, but that the accumulation of Whig crimes since 1840 should be listed against them. Utter argued that nine-tenths of the party favored dropping the currency question until the next or even a later campaign. Martin to Allen, Columbus, (Ohio), January 5, 1846, Allen MSS., v. X; Utter to the *Georgetown Standard*, January 8, 1846, reprinted in *Ohio State Journal*, January 13, 1846.

vigorous terms and the Administration was commended for serving notice on England of the termination of joint occupancy of the Oregon country.²⁶² Edwin M. Stanton, a rising young lawyer and ardent radical Democrat of Steubenville, who had been prominently mentioned by the radicals as a possible candidate in 1846 in case Tod should not take strong enough grounds on the currency question,²⁶³ regarded Tod's nomination as a triumph of principle.²⁶⁴ H. C. Whitman was jubilant. He wrote Allen that the "work" was finished "most gloriously." "A different result," he boasted, "would have obtained had not some hundred young men like myself gone up from the various quarters of Ohio *determined* to fight it out. We had a small fight in the beginning. Some five or six were choked and dragged out of the pulpit. We ended harmoniously and the Democratic party of Ohio is at last placed on the high ground you assumed . . . in 1837 in your Anti-Bank speech."²⁶⁵ The Whig papers, however, denied that the proceedings ended so harmoniously, the *Ohio State Journal* describing the Convention as a scene of confusion unequalled for its "utter regardlessness of propriety, order, decency" and "untamed wildness," in any political assemblage ever seen.²⁶⁶ The Whig press greeted the resolutions of the Democratic Convention with derision. The Cincinnati *Gazette* saw in them a "spirit of inno-

²⁶² Full proceedings of the Convention are in the *Ohio Statesman*, January 8, 9, 1846.

²⁶³ Whitman to Allen, November 23, 1845, Allen MSS., v. VIII.

²⁶⁴ Stanton to Chase, November 30, 1846, Chase MSS., v. II, in Pennsylvania Historical Society Library. Hereafter, when citations to the Chase manuscripts are made, it is understood that they are taken from the collection in the Library of Congress unless otherwise stated.

²⁶⁵ Whitman to Allen, January 26, 1846, Allen MSS., v. X.

²⁶⁶ *Ohio State Journal*, January 9, 1846.

vation—of unsteadiness—of bank destruction” and asked when the interests of the State would cease to be torn and divided for the sport of a faction.²⁶⁷ The *Ohio State Journal* foresaw a continued war on the currency and the subjection of the prosperity of the State to the caprices of the “destructives.”²⁶⁸

A portion of the Democratic press of the State also received the platform with some misgiving, but the *Ohio Statesman* and the *Sandusky Democrat* gave it ardent support. The *Democrat* saw in it a return to constitutional currency. “The people,” it asserted, “have been cursed and defrauded by banks long enough, if there were no other objections against the system. They have borne the wrong and injustice originating from the banking system, until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue.”²⁶⁹ At first, it seemed as if the party would accept the platform and the candidate with enthusiasm, but a lack of enthusiasm among some of the party leaders of the State soon became noticeable. Medary attributed it to factional strife between the leaders over the question of the succession.²⁷⁰ In Richland County, a Democratic meeting adopted resolutions condemning the nomination of Tod and the severe anti-bank resolutions of the State Convention.²⁷¹ The *Wayne County Standard* tore Tod’s name from its editorial columns,²⁷² and the conservative Democrats of Muskingum County

²⁶⁷ Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, January 13, 1846.

²⁶⁸ *Ohio State Journal*, January 10, 1846.

²⁶⁹ Editorial of *Sandusky Democrat* quoted in Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, February 6, 1846.

²⁷⁰ Medary to Allen, January 26, 1846, Allen MSS., v. X.

²⁷¹ *Ohio Statesman*, January 19, 1846.

²⁷² *Wayne County Standard* quoted in Xenia *Torch-Light*, January 29, 1846, and in Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, February 14, 1846.

avored a proposal of the "softs" for a state convention to name another candidate for governor.²⁷³ In spite of the fact that the conservative insurgent movement reached alarming proportions, the hard money Democrats did not abandon their radical demands. The Montgomery County Democrats wanted to banish paper money forever from the State.²⁷⁴ The Hamilton County Democrats approved of the "repeal of the act to incorporate the state bank of Ohio, and other banking companies, thereby intending to destroy every institution now organized under it, and to prevent any organization in the future. The heads of the hydra must be cut off, and its blood staunch in order to subdue the venomous monster."²⁷⁵

In the meantime, the opposition prepared to join issue with the Democrats on the matter of the Kelley Law. In their county conventions the Whigs adopted resolutions upholding the Whig banking measure. The Muskingum County Whigs took the orthodox party position on both the banks and the tariff.²⁷⁶ The Licking Whigs specifically favored a "mixed currency, composed of gold and silver, and paper, convertible into gold and silver."²⁷⁷ The Medina County Whigs argued that the Democratic policy on the banks would make the "rich richer, and the poor poorer."²⁷⁸ Among those mentioned for governor were Benjamin F. Wade,²⁷⁹ of

²⁷³ Zanesville *Aurora* quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, April 2, 1846.

²⁷⁴ *Ohio Statesman*, January 30, 1846.

²⁷⁵ *Ohio State Journal*, January 24, 1846.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, January 27, 1846.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1846.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, January 27, 1846.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, February 2, 1846.

Ashtabula County, William Bebb,²⁸⁰ David Fisher,²⁸¹ James Collier,²⁸² of Steubenville, and Calvary Morris, of Athens County. William Bebb was finally nominated for governor by the Whig State Convention. "Wm. Bebb and a Home Currency against David Tod and Pot Metal" became the Whig campaign slogan.²⁸³ The Convention condemned, in vigorous terms, a currency composed entirely of gold and silver, and Whig orators argued that the payment of taxes in specie would work a hardship on the labouring man, and would tend to produce one kind of currency for the office holder and another for the people.²⁸⁴ A Whig Young Men's Ratifying Convention under the leadership of John Teesdale, at one time editor of the *Ohio State Journal*, also passed resolutions throwing down the gauntlet to the Democrats.²⁸⁵

The tactics of the Democrats in the General Assembly in February, 1846, were designed to bring the conservative insurgents into line and to bring their position forcefully before the voters of the State in the coming campaign. In the House, the Democrats reported a bill to repeal the Kelley Bank Law and to prohibit the issue of bank notes intended to circulate as money.²⁸⁶ Two Democrats voted with the Whigs on this question, but the adroit Edson B. Olds of Pickaway felt it necessary to support his party in spite of the fact that he had obtained Whig votes in the fall elections of 1845 by prom-

²⁸⁰ *Ohio State Journal*, February 2, 1846.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, January 29, 1846.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, January 26, 1846.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, February 4, 1846.

²⁸⁴ Proceedings in *Ohio State Journal*, February 4, 5, 1846.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, February 4, 1846.

²⁸⁶ *Xenia Torch-Light*, February 26, 1846.

ises not to disturb the existing situation.²⁸⁷ The vote on this proposal was at once a challenge to the Whigs and an evidence that the Democrats intended to abide by the platform of their State Convention. As the campaign progressed, the Democrats felt it more expedient to concentrate on the "iniquities" of the new Whig taxation law passed in the session of 1845-1846. By this act the principles of the general property tax were applied to all property and industry in the State, with the exception of the capital of banks, merchants, manufacturers, and other corporations.²⁸⁸ The Democrats attacked this law as a special privilege for the bankers who already had an overwhelming influence in the government. Forceful appeals were made, as has been pointed out, to farmers and laborers on the ground that the banks were taxed only on the profits they might make, while the farmer and mechanic were taxed on their capital, whether they made a profit or not. The Whigs realized the force of these attacks and the chief Whig organ of the State freely admitted that it did not wholly approve of the law, although it believed increased taxation was necessary. It was pointed out that since the new enactment placed a large amount of property hitherto untaxed on the tax duplicate, the taxes of the farmer would be decreased.²⁸⁹ The Whigs represented the Democratic attack on the tax law as a subtle warfare of the "destructives" on the banks.²⁹⁰ When all other arguments failed, the Whigs returned to the principle of the inviolability of contracts,

²⁸⁷ *Xenia Torch-Light*, February 26, 1846.

²⁸⁸ E. L. Bogart, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

²⁸⁹ *Ohio State Journal*, February 20, 1846; speech of Benjamin S. Cowen to the people of Belmont County in August, 1846, in *Xenia Torch-Light*, August 20, 1846.

²⁹⁰ *Xenia Torch-Light*, July 16, 1846.

and argued that, since the banks were already taxed by charters, any provision by the General Assembly for another method of taxation would be a violation of their charter rights.

The continuance of the Kelley Law and the tax law of 1846 depended on the outcome of the fall elections of 1846. The *Ohio Statesman* reminded its readers just before the election "That every vote cast * * * against Mr. Bebb * * * is a vote for maintaining the constitutional rights of the people, and preserving their best interests, from the violation of federal power, and the oppression of federal Whig laws, that are made to grind down the laboring and producing classes of the State, and to enrich, pamper and uphold opulent bankers and speculating capitalists."²⁹¹

The election of 1846 was won by the Whigs, although they secured only a tie in the Senate. The Whigs controlled the House by a majority of eight, and Bebb was elected governor by a small majority.²⁹² The party also won a majority of the congressional delegation from Ohio. Medary was a candidate for Congress from the Tenth District, but he lost to Daniel Duncan, a Tyler Whig.²⁹³ Medary, who had failed to gain a Federal appointment as he had hoped,²⁹⁴ became discontented with the game of active politics after losing the race for Con-

²⁹¹ *Ohio Statesman*, October 12, 1846.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, October 19, 1846.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1846.

²⁹⁴ In 1863, when relations between Tod and Medary became strained, Medary asserted that Tod had promised him the Brazilian mission if he would take charge of the *Ohio Statesman* again. Medary, in 1846, carried out his part of the promise but when Tod failed in the race for governor in 1846, he took the mission himself. The *Crisis* (Columbus), May 13, 1863.

gress and in November, 1846, he was back at the helm of the *Ohio Statesman*.²⁹⁵

Encouraged by the check they could exercise over the power of the Whigs in the Senate, the Democrats renewed the fight against "unequaled privileges," in the 1846-1847 session of the Legislature, by demanding that banks be taxed in the same manner as other property. A bill to this effect was introduced in the Senate. It included a tax on money invested in state stocks and jewelry.²⁹⁶ The Whigs opposed the bill, in the words of Seabury Ford, Whig senator from Geauga, because the proposal was "a bill to alter and amend, and in effect and principle to repeal the charters of all the banks in Ohio," because it would force upon the banks "a different mode of taxation than that provided for, and guaranteed to them in the law by which they were created. . . ." Ford denied the right of the General Assembly to invalidate a charter, and denounced the bill as an attempt of the Democrats under their old cry of "Bank Reform" to reduce the State to dependence on a gold and silver currency.²⁹⁷ The *Ohio State Journal* declared the pro-

²⁹⁵ *Ohio Statesman*, November 9, 1846.

²⁹⁶ *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, December 22, 1846.

²⁹⁷ *Ohio State Journal*, January 8, 1847. At the beginning of the session the Auditor of State in his annual report had stated that the banks paid more revenue to the State by the charter tax than they would if they were taxed on their capital stock at the same rate as other property. The Democrats felt that the statement was made for political effect and Charles Reemelin introduced a resolution in the Senate asking the Auditor for a statement of the amount which would be returned to the State under each method. The report made by the Auditor (given in *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, January 16, 1847) did not bear out his previous statement. The Democrats then introduced a resolution to print five thousand extra copies for distribution. The resolution was sent to the Committee on Public Printing where it remained. A Democratic motion asking for a report from this committee was defeated by a strict party vote. *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, January 27, 1847.

posal was an "ultra measure of repudiation and revolution."²⁹⁸

The Democratic strategy clearly was to keep the question before the people, for they knew their proposal could not pass. The newspapers of both parties also kept the issue alive. The *Ohio Statesman*, again under the control of the redoubtable Medary, kept up a running fire of stinging comments on the "iniquities" of the banking system, while the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* made the inequalities of the tax law its specialty. The *Ohio State Journal* defended the banks, claiming that the prosperity of the State was due to the beneficent effects of the banking system. The Democrats claimed the credit for this new prosperity for the Walker Tariff of 1846,²⁹⁹ and to the increase of tolls from the State's canals.³⁰⁰ In the columns of the *Western Empire* (Dayton), Clement L. Vallandigham argued forcefully for "taxation equally and properly and justly apportioned," the payment of all the "just debts" and the abolition of paper currency, and special privileges.³⁰¹

Although the relative importance of banking and currency as issues began to fade toward the close of the decade, because of the attacks of the Whigs on the Mexican War, the Democrats allowed no opportunity to pass without condemning the Kelley Banking Law and the revenue measure of 1846, and at State meetings and county conventions they issued the usual resolutions condemning the banking and taxing system of the State,

²⁹⁸ The *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* upheld the right of the General Assembly to repeal any act of its predecessor. *Ohio State Journal*, January 7, 1847.

²⁹⁹ *Ohio Statesman*, September 14, 1847.

³⁰⁰ *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, September 15, 1847.

³⁰¹ *Western Empire* quoted in *Ohio Statesman*, June 25, 1847.

while the Whigs as eagerly defended the systems they had created.³⁰² The new issues over slavery in the territories acquired from Mexico tended to overshadow other questions. Many political leaders probably welcomed an opportunity to discuss slavery and the rights of the North as opposed to the Southern Slavocracy, in order to dodge embarrassing questions relating to labour and the rights of the common man. The political energies of the people were directed to new questions of national importance.

The elections of October, 1847, gave the Whigs a majority of two in each branch of the General Assembly,³⁰³ apparently another mandate that Ohio should "be a faith-abiding, covenant-keeping State."³⁰⁴ In his annual message to the General Assembly, Governor Bebb interpreted the results as an approval of Whig banking principles, and he praised the Kelley Law for affording to the people a "convenient, sound and convertible currency . . ."³⁰⁵ In the selection of candidates for governor in 1848, both parties were influenced largely by national issues, which are to be treated more at length in another chapter.³⁰⁶ The Whigs nominated Seabury Ford for governor, and, although most of their resolutions dealt with the origin and conduct of the Mexican War, they also announced their adherence to a protective tariff, a system of internal improvements, and to "a

³⁰² *Ohio Statesman*, January 11, August 16, September 16, 30, 1847; *Ohio State Journal*, July—October, 1847.

³⁰³ *Ohio Statesman*, October 16, 1847.

³⁰⁴ *Ohio State Journal*, October 16, 1847.

³⁰⁵ *Ohio Executive Documents*, 1847, v. XII, part 1, pp. 10-11.

³⁰⁶ See Chapter V.

sound and uniform currency" and their opposition to the Sub-Treasury and "Executive usurpations."³⁰⁷

Long before the meeting of the Democratic State Convention, in 1848, it was evident that John B. Weller was the choice of the party for governor. He had been active in his party and had rendered meritorious service in the army during the Mexican War. An unpleasant situation which had developed between Weller and Tappan before the Convention was satisfactorily ironed out, and Weller agreed to support the anti-bank policies of the Democrats, as well as the Wilmot Proviso, which forbade slavery in any territory which might be acquired from Mexico as a result of the War.³⁰⁸ The selection of Weller may be considered as a victory for the administration forces since he had shown himself subservient to the wishes of the powers at Washington.³⁰⁹ The resolutions of the Convention condemned the revenue system because it did not tax bank stock and the Board of Control because it was alleged to possess irresponsible banking powers.³¹⁰

There was a general tendency toward a democratization in 1848. It manifested itself in Ohio in expressions of sympathy by every county convention with revolutionary movements then in progress in Europe. Ohio felt this same movement in the 1840's in the direction of greater democracy. Although this movement became entangled in the slavery controversy at the close of the decade, it nevertheless helped to break up conservative control and enabled the radical elements of the Free Soil

³⁰⁷ *Ohio State Journal*, January 20, 1848.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, January 6, 1847.

³⁰⁹ *Ohio Statesman*, January 11, 1848.

³¹⁰ *Ohio Statesman*, January 11, 1848.

and Democratic parties to bring about important reforms in the new Constitution of 1851.³¹¹ The reaction in Ohio against special privileges was nowhere shown more clearly than in the struggle for a new constitution. The Whigs at last were forced to allow the people to vote on the proposition of calling for a constitutional convention. This issue figured in the fall elections of 1849, and the Whigs supported the movement for a new constitution rather half-heartedly. The feeling engendered against banking institutions during these struggles of the 1840's was an important factor in the demand for a new constitution. Reform seemed to be in the air. The conservative forces of the State could not resist the demand for a change in the fundamental law of the land and the people approved the calling of a constitutional convention by a majority of nearly three to one.³¹²

In the fall of 1849 and to the convening of the Constituent assembly, the Democrats of Ohio continued to express their hatred of Whig banking and revenue laws, in much the same language as that used in earlier campaigns.³¹³ The Whigs defended their bank and tax schemes³¹⁴, and revived the old charges of repudiation and destruction in order to frighten the timid. But

³¹¹ See Chapters VI and VII.

³¹² *Ohio Statesman*, October 27, 1849.

³¹³ The Knox County Democrats, in August, 1849, declared that banks of circulation were not only unconstitutional but were "aristocratic, oppressive, and corrupting in their influences, and diametrically opposed to the principles of equality, upon which the Democratic party is based." The Democrats of Ross and Pickaway counties were opposed to all forms of circulating mediums except a "constitutional currency" and avowed great fear of "gigantic state monopolies." *Ohio Statesman*, August 24, September 22, 1849.

³¹⁴ *Ohio State Journal*, September 10, 1849, February 17, 1850.

there were signs that the Whigs were no longer united in the defense of their system. Part of the younger Whigs felt that the Board of Control exercised arbitrary power over the banking system to benefit the select few,³¹⁵ and others favored a free system of banking and equal taxation of all forms of property, including bank capital.³¹⁶

The result of the election of delegates was favorable to the Democrats. The Second Constitutional Convention of Ohio was organized by the election of William Medill (D) as president.³¹⁷ The Democrats, who were in control, then proceeded to put into effect their ideas on banking and currency, although the "Hard money" Democrats did not secure the adoption of their principles without modification or compromise. Section I of Article VIII prohibited the General Assembly from passing any special act of incorporation. Section 2 of the same article set forth the Democratic doctrine that the General Assembly might alter or repeal general acts of incorporation which might be chartered thereafter. The third section contained the familiar Democratic principle of individual liability for stock-holders. The fourth section carried out the principles of the Democracy in regard to bank taxation, by providing that the property of corporations, then existing or thereafter created, should be subject to the same taxation as the

³¹⁵ *Ohio Statesman*, July 7, 1847.

³¹⁶ *Ohio State Journal*, August 29, 1849.

³¹⁷ Report of the Debates and Proceedings of the Ohio State Convention, called to Alter, Revise or Amend the Constitution of the State, 1850-1851, J. V. Smith, reporter to the Convention, Columbus, 1851. Medary, printer, 2 vols. The reports of the Convention contain a copy of the Constitution as adopted.

property of individuals.³¹⁸ In order to guarantee equal taxation for all forms of property, Section 2 of Article XII made it mandatory for the General Assembly to pass laws "taxing by a uniform rule, all moneys, credits, investments in banks, stocks, joint stock companies, or otherwise" Section 3 of the same article provided that all property employed in banking should be taxed according to the uniform rule.³¹⁹

The forces working for the Democratic ideas of reform had at last won out, and had incorporated in the fundamental law of the State most of their principles on banking and currency. Indeed, in the election of delegates to the Convention, the Democrats had reaped the advantage of having for several years advocated a change in the Constitution, while the Whigs were either hostile or lukewarm toward the proposal. The Free Soilers were inclined to support the Democrats on the issue of constitutional reform, and the Whigs were still suffering from the breach in their ranks which had occurred during the national campaign of 1848. But not all members of the Whig party were reactionary. A

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, v. II, p. 863. The principle that all forms of wealth should be taxed in the same proportion has formed a part of the Ohio revenue system to the present day (1928), but there is now a movement to discard this principle on the ground that intangible wealth should be taxed at a lower rate than tangible wealth. Under the present system such forms of wealth as stocks and bonds, which the framers of the Constitution of 1851 were anxious should be reached in the same manner as other property, largely escape taxation simply by reason of the failure of the citizen to place them on his tax return. Those who demand a change insist that if the tax on such wealth is lowered and enforcement of the law made more efficient there will be practically no evasion of the revenue laws. The result, they say, will be a higher revenue from intangibles, which will enable the State to lower the tax on tangible property. *Ohio State Journal*, January 26, 1928, editorial.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, v. II, p. 863.

large portion consisted of farmers and day labourers, and the party, in its appeal for support throughout the decade, had never lost sight of the needs of the common man. Nevertheless, the Whig program was essentially conservative. The Whig leaders were generally men of wealth and standing in their own communities, who imagined themselves and their property menaced by the radicalism of the common mechanic and day labourer. Agrarianism, repudiation, and Jacobinism are terms that adequately describe their ideas of the significance of the Democratic movement, and their fear is comparable, to a degree, to that prevailing in certain circles today about communism or socialism. Throughout the decade the Whig party generally favored the *status quo*. The one exception was their demand for the repeal of the Black Laws, but this involved no immediate problem of economics, and the Whig orator, with perfect equanimity, could appeal to the sympathies of his constituency for the wrongs of the negro, without in any way raising the issue of the economic relationship of the masses of the people.

After 1848, the Whig organization was hopelessly broken and the forces tending toward democratization were allowed to work themselves out in the new Constitution. Although there were conservatives and reactionaries as well as progressives in the ranks of the Democrats, as has been shown, the leaders of the party were devoted to the Jacksonian program, as far as economic issues were involved. Their hostility to paper currency was the result of sad experiences with banking institutions which they, themselves, had set up. At times they went further in their program of reform than was

wise, but, in the main, their proposals were financially sound and their political principles those of the masses. In the last analysis the banking question in Ohio was the result of a lack of adequate state regulation of corporations and the distrust of corporate and privileged interests by the frontier democracy, still dominant in the State.

(To be continued in the QUARTERLY for January, 1929)



OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REVIEWS, NOTES, AND COMMENTS

BY THE EDITOR

UNVEILING OF MEMORIAL TO ELIZABETH ZANE

An event of more than passing interest in the pioneer history of the Ohio Valley was appropriately celebrated at Walnut Grove Cemetery, Martins Ferry, Ohio, May 30, 1928. This was the unveiling of a statue as a memorial to Elizabeth Zane—Heroine of Fort Henry.

Fort Henry, named in honor of Patrick Henry, was built on a hill within the present city limits of Wheeling, West Virginia. It was unsuccessfully attacked by the Indians the year it was built, in 1781, and again by the British and Indians September 11, 1782. This last attack and successful defense by garrison has sometimes been called the last battle of the Revolutionary War. In the final siege, we are told "the supply of powder having run low in the fort, Elizabeth Zane ran several hundred yards to the powder house and brought back a supply sufficient to save the fort."

The story of this heroic deed, according to Henry Howe, "has been published a thousand times." He might have added "and in varied version and detail." In volume 13 of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society *Publications*, the writer of the contribution entitled "Zane's Trace," makes brief mention of this exploit by Elizabeth Zane, familiarly known as Betty Zane, the young sister of Ebenezer Zane. In that contribution is published in full the poem entitled "Elizabeth

Zane" by John S. Adams, which first appeared in *St. Nicholas*. According to the poem, Elizabeth Zane was in the fort at the time of the siege, and as already stated made the trip, not of "several hundred yards" but of



ELIZABETH ZANE

Statue unveiled at Martins Ferry, Ohio, May 30, 1928.

about "sixty yards" to the powder magazine and returned with a supply of powder to the fort.

Other accounts, however, are to the effect that Elizabeth Zane brought the powder from the fort to the home of her brother, Colonel Ebenezer Zane. We quote from *History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia*, by Wills De Hass. Beginning on page 269, we find the following:

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As we have already stated, Colonel Zane remained in his cabin near the fort, during the whole siege. Finding that his supply of powder was likely to run out, he proposed to those present, that some one of them would have to visit the fort and renew the stock. It was known to be a hazardous undertaking, and unwilling to order either of the white men to so perilous an enterprise, Colonel Zane submitted the matter to their own devotion and courage. One of them instantly proffered his services, but a female member of Col. Zane's family came forward and said, "No! I will go; should I be killed, I can be better spared than one of these men." That woman, according to the traditional accounts of the country, was Elizabeth Zane, sister to Colonel Zane. She is represented to have been a young woman of great resolution and much energy of character, and those who knew her intimately say unhesitatingly, that she was just the person for such an exploit. Preparing herself for the feat, the intrepid girl stepped from the cabin and bounded to the fort with the speed of a deer. A number of Indians concealed in the neighborhood, saw her emerge from the cabin, but did not attempt to shoot, only exclaiming with contemptuous epithets, "Squaw, squaw." She reached the fort, and tying about her person eight or ten pounds of powder, again ventured forth and moved rapidly towards the cabin of Colonel Zane. Suspecting all was not right, the savages opened upon her a volley of rifle balls, but unscathed, the courageous girl bounded into the arms of those who stood ready to receive her.

That act of the heroic and single-hearted female saved the inmates of Colonel Zane's house from certain destruction. Their ammunition had been exhausted, and every soul would have fallen a sure prey to the fury of the savages, had not a supply been obtained.

A different version is quoted from Wither's *Border Warfare* in Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, vol. 1, pages 314-315:

When Lynn, the ranger, gave the alarm that an Indian army was approaching, the fort having been for some time unoccupied by a garrison, and Colonel Zane's house having been used for a magazine, those who retired into the fortress had to take with them a supply of ammunition for its defense. The supply of powder, deemed ample at the time, was now almost exhausted, by reason of the long continuance of the siege, and the repeated endeavors of the savages to take the fort by storm; a few rounds

only remained. In this emergency it became necessary to renew their stock from an abundant store which was deposited in Colonel Zane's house. Accordingly, it was proposed that one of the fleetest men should endeavor to reach the house, obtain a supply of powder, and return with it to the fort. It was an enterprise full of danger; but many of the heroic spirits shut up in the fort were willing to encounter the hazard. Among those who volunteered to go on this enterprise was Elizabeth, the sister of Colonel E. Zane. She was young, active and athletic, with courage to dare the danger, and fortitude to sustain her through it. Disdaining to weigh the hazard of her own life against that of others, when told that a man would encounter less danger by reason of his greater fleetness, she replied, "and should he fail, his loss will be more severely felt; you have not one man to spare; a woman will not be missed in the defense of the fort." Her services were then accepted. Divesting herself of some of her garments, as tending to impede her progress, she stood prepared for the hazardous adventure; and when the gate was thrown open, bounded forth with the buoyancy of hope, and in the confidence of success. Wrapt in amazement, the Indians beheld her springing forward, and only exclaiming, "a squaw," "a squaw," no attempt was made to interrupt her progress; arrived at the door, she proclaimed her errand. Colonel Silas Zane fastened a table-cloth around her waist, and emptying into it a keg of powder, again she ventured forth. The Indians were no longer passive. Ball after ball whizzed by, several of which passed through her clothes; she reached the gate, and entered the fort in safety; and thus was the garrison again saved by female intrepidity. This heroine had but recently returned from Philadelphia, where she had received her education, and was wholly unused to such scenes as were daily passing on the frontiers. The distance she had to run was about forty yards.

The honor of this heroic exploit has also been claimed for another young woman by the name of Molly Scott. The claim in her behalf is set forth on pages 280-281 in the work by De Hass, from which quotation has already been made. The claim of Miss Zane, however, is well established. It is supported by "a cloud of witnesses," quoted in the *History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties*, by J. A. Caldwell. Among these witnesses are per-

sons present on the occasion of the daring deed, by descendants of Elizabeth Zane, who had frequently heard her relate the incident, and by a grandson of Molly Scott, Mr. J. S. Scott, who made the following statement:

She [his grandmother] has told me, and in my presence, many times, about the exploit of Betty Zane carrying the powder in her apron from Colonel Zane's dwelling to the fort, during the siege, and of the courage and intrepidity with which the act was performed, as well as the narrow escape she had from the bullets of the Indians. She always told me the same story and never gave any other name than Elizabeth or Betty Zane, as she called her, as the one who carried the powder.

Early newspaper accounts sustain the claim of Elizabeth Zane. The almost uniform testimony is also to the effect that the powder was brought from the house of Colonel Zane to the fort. The attack appears to have been suddenly made and sufficient powder for the defense of the fort had not been transferred to it before it was surrounded.

Elizabeth Zane was born in Berkeley County, Virginia, in 1759. She died in St. Clairsville, Ohio, in 1847. She was twice married; first to a Mr. McLaughlin, and after his death to a Mr. Clark. She is reported to have been "a beautiful girl and throughout long life an accomplished and handsome woman, and withal modest and unassuming." A number of her descendants are now living.

The following is quoted from the Program of the Dedicatory Exercises at Martins Ferry:

"When the founders of Wheeling, and the heroine of Virginia, were interred in the soil of Ohio, the place selected was not then the terminus of a busy thoroughfare, but was a secluded spot where majestic trees towered and commanded a view of the sweeping Ohio, as well as all of the territory that Col. Ebenezer Zane had owned.

In thinking of the seemingly inappropriate burial place of the man who had owned the whole upper section of Wheeling, the customs of that day must not be ignored, nor the realization of the tenacity of family ties.

Family burial plots that were located on farms of the owners was the custom then rather than the cemeteries of today."

With the succeeding years came progress and the memory of this Heroine was somewhat denied. The burial place did not receive the attention necessary to keep it attractive and after the cyclone of 1887, which destroyed many of the beautiful trees, Walnut Grove Cemetery was a spot seldom visited, perhaps only on Decoration Day when flowers were placed on the graves of those sleeping there.

A few years ago the people of Martins Ferry realizing that a fitting memorial should be erected here to designate the burial place of Elizabeth Zane, called together representatives of about twenty of its fraternal, civic and social organizations of this city with the hope of furthering the plans initiated by the public schools of our city for a suitable monument to the memory of our pioneer citizen.

Mr. O. H. Kinney was elected president of the organization and to him goes the credit of fathering this movement through the years, keeping it ever before the boys and girls until in 1922 the first funds were placed to the credit of the Memorial Committee by the various schools. Through bazaars, entertainments and contributions the fund steadily grew until at present there is about \$3800 available for this purpose.

The school children are happy in the realization of their dream and the various teachers, principals and superintendents who had a part in this project are proud of the coöperation in this community which brought success to their efforts.

A prominent feature of the program was an Historical Pageant staged by the school children of Martins Ferry. At the exercises at the monument in the afternoon, H. E. Koehnlein, chairman of the Memorial Committee, presided, and W. L. Kocher, superintendent of schools, served as master of ceremonies. After Invocation by Rev. J. E. Priestly, there was a flag raising with music—"The Star Spangled Banner"—by the High School Band; Remarks to Descendants of Elizabeth

Zane, by W. O. McCluskey; Unveiling of Monument, by Mrs. Catherine Long, granddaughter of Elizabeth Zane; followed by addresses by Howard F. Sedgwick and Major H. A. Dargue, both of Washington, D. C. The program concluded with the singing of "America."

CELEBRATION AT CAMPUS MARTIUS

In 1917, the General Assembly of Ohio passed an act authorizing the purchase, from Miss Minerva Tupper Nye, of the portion of the old Campus Martius site in Marietta on which the Rufus Putnam house is still standing. By the terms of this act this lot was to pass into the custody of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Later the provisions of the act were complied with and the property passed into the possession of the state.

The Putnam House has recently been repaired. A new roof has been provided and the framework has been substantially strengthened. The walls of the rooms have been papered, electric lights and plumbing for city water have been installed. The permanent preservation of this historical building on its original site is now assured.

The state acquired a part only of the original site in the purchase from Miss Nye. Recently an additional plot of ground lying within the site and bordering on the portion already owned by the state was offered for sale. It was about to pass into private hands to be improved for residence purpose. No money was available for its purchase by the state and the opportunity to acquire and add it to the lot on which the Putnam House stands seemed about to be lost.

In this emergency the public-spirited women of Marietta came to the rescue. The Marietta Local Circle of Colonial Dames in the State of Ohio, The Washington County Pioneer Association, The Woman's Centennial Association of Washington County and the Marietta Chapter of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, organized under the leadership of Mrs. C. K. Sloan, Mrs. Arthur G. Beach, Miss Willia D. Cotton and others, inaugurated a campaign to raise money by subscriptions to purchase the lot offered for sale. This campaign was successful, the money was promptly raised, the lot was purchased and conveyed to the State in the custody of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

The celebration, on June 12, 1928, was incident to the formal transfer of the deed to the Director of that Society. The following excellent account of the celebration is copied from the *Marietta Times* of June 13:

Pomp and ceremony befitting an occasion of state, yet tempered with those primary elements that make for democracy upon which the race has builded an empire, attended the Campus Martius celebration in Marietta on Tuesday. It was a most successful affair, and historians will give it recognition along with other notable events that have occurred in the "City of the Pioneers." Hundreds of sons and daughters of the Northwest Territory participated.

The occasion centered about the passing to the state of title to additional lands on which the pioneers centered their activities more than a century ago, and upon which and in the midst of which there will be built a historical museum. In this building, for which Tuesday's ceremonial brought the turning of the first soil, will be housed a priceless array of relics of the original settlers, heirlooms of the families that launched civil government in the wilderness of the Northwest, and its time-resisting roof and protecting walls will preserve to posterity the Rufus Putnam House, a shrine for coming generations.

A dual celebration was held on Tuesday, starting on the site

of Campus Martius and concluding at the Betsey Mills Club, Putnam Street. It brought together men and women who have won fame in the community, the state and the nation, and a program replete with patriotic reverence and historical lore was presented.

The Rufus Putnam House has been restored and a portion at least of its original furnishings are back within its walls. Its doors were thrown open to the public on Tuesday afternoon and at 2 o'clock a public reception was held. In the receiving line were representatives of Marietta historical and patriotic societies, among them descendants of a number of the pioneers including several who trace their lineage back to General Putnam himself.

While this reception was in progress, the patriotic, fraternal and civic organizations of the city were massing in City Park and from there at 3:30 o'clock a parade moved to Campus Martius State Park at Washington and Second Streets. The open air ceremonies attending the transfer of title to the state took place on the Second Street front of Campus Martius Park and began at 4 o'clock. Musical numbers appropriate to the occasion featured the program.

Hon. John W. Gray, mayor of Marietta, made a welcoming address, and a response was given by Arthur C. Johnson, Sr., Columbus newspaper publisher, and president of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, which collaborated with the following Marietta societies in the ceremonies of the day: Marietta Local Circle of Colonial Dames in the State of Ohio, The Washington County Pioneer Association, The Woman's Centennial Association of Washington County, and the Marietta Chapter of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Masonry was represented in the ceremonies, and Rev. Edward B. Townsend, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, appeared on behalf of Earl Stewart, grand master of the Grand Lodge of Ohio.

A feature of the occasion was the appearance in tribal costume of Ralph W. Allen, of Oklahoma, a full-blooded Pawnee Indian, who sang very beautifully and very appropriately a number of songs. He is a student at Ohio State University and was selected recently to be the model for a life-size figure of the original Moundbuilder, a work of art that the Archaeological Society has completed in Columbus. His repertoire included a number of Indian songs as well as numbers from some of the old masters.

Formal tendering to the State of Ohio, as a gift from certain Marietta citizens, of a deed for that portion of Campus Martius

upon which Blockhouse No. 3 was located, was made on behalf of the donors by Representative O. S. Creighton, and its acceptance on behalf of the state by Lieutenant Governor William G. Pickrel, of Dayton, climaxed the afternoon ceremonies.

Lieutenant Governor Pickrel made his first visit to Marietta and by his masterful historical address, splendidly delivered, won admiration.

The ceremonial was fittingly concluded by the reading of an original poem on "Campus Martius," by its author, Charles B. Galbreath, secretary, librarian and editor of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

The evening program opened at the Betsey Mills Club at 6:30 o'clock and was attended by a representative audience of Ohio people. It was sponsored by the Marietta societies that had collaborated in the day's ceremonies, and no finer affair of the kind ever has been held in the city.

The spacious auditorium of the club was in festive array for the occasion. On the stage were miniature reproductions of the Rufus Putnam House and the Ohio Company Land Office. American flags and summer flowers in rare profusion rounded out the decorative scheme. A fine dinner was served by the club organization.

Hon. George White, of Marietta, was master of ceremonies and the invocation was by Dr. Edward S. Parsons, president of Marietta College. A string trio, Mary Lou Hall, violinist, Margaret Bourquard, 'cellist, and Mary Ward, pianist, presented a delightful program of numbers during the serving of the dinner.

Thomas J. Summers, president of the Marietta Chamber of Commerce, said Marietta is both a pioneer and an historical city, and education, morality and religion were the basic principles upon which it was founded nearly 150 years ago. Straight thinking and right acting are the cardinal principles of its modern being, he said, and while he spoke as a business representative, he welcomed the guests in the spirit of a society organization committed to giving the best that it has for the best that there is in community development.

Telegrams of regret were read from Hon. Claude Meeker, of Columbus, a trustee of the Archaeological Society, and from United States Senator Cyrus Locher, who was detained by a previous engagement at the annual commencement exercises of Ohio Wesleyan University, where his class is observing its twenty-fifth anniversary.

Arthur C. Johnson, Sr., president of the State Society, replied to the welcome address and brought greetings from his organization. He paid fine tribute to the women who did such fine

work in arranging the Marietta part of the celebration, and in paving the way for a realization of the community interest in Campus Martius Park. They are Mrs. Helen Hill Sloan, Mrs. Arthur G. Beach, Miss Rowena Buell, Miss Kathryn Parr Nye, Miss Willia D. Cotton and Mrs. Edward S. Parsons.

He enlarged somewhat upon the workings of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, which is devoting its interests to the creation of state parks and memorials and the proper marking of all historical points in Ohio. He advocated more play grounds for the public and predicted the opening of a great state park along the Muskingum valley in the future as part of the system that will swing over other sections of the state.

Mrs. Walter L. Tobey, of Hamilton, D. A. R. state vice regent, brought greetings from her association, and this led to the singing of a group of songs by Ralph W. Allen. Miss Mary Helen Stanley, of Marietta, was his accompanist and shared honors with him.

Dr. E. LeFever, of Glouster, state senator, who has had a prominent part, along with Representative O. S. Creighton, in getting through the Legislature the acts that have made possible the Campus Martius improvement, was signally honored by his many friends.

He spoke briefly but to the point, enlarging a bit upon the growth of organized government that has sprung from the Campus Martius group of nearly a century and a half ago. He promised further effort on behalf of Ohio recognition and predicted that other states will join in making Campus Martius a shrine for all of the Northwest Territory.

Herbert B. Briggs, state architect, who designed the proposed building, spoke at some length on the memorial to be built here, detailing the plans for same. He said that the building will be of colonial design and announced that Attorney General Turner had only this week given final approval to the contract awarded for building the historical museum section of the memorial so that actual building operations can start at once.

Miss Rowena Buell, representing the Colonial Dames of America, responded to a toast and presented as her "jewels" Mrs. E. H. Matthews and Mrs. Alter of Cincinnati, detailed here as official representatives of the society at the meeting.

Miss Buell told briefly of the collection of relics and heirlooms, officially begun during the centennial year, 1888, and pledged united efforts to accomplish their final transfer into the new memorial. She pleaded for further community interest.

Mrs. William McGee Wilson, of Xenia, past state regent

and ex-national vice-regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, responded in happy vein to the toast, "Beautiful Ohio." Our lives are made up of pictures, she said, and Marietta affords a wonderful volume of them. She told of previous visits to Marietta and declared this to be the shrine of all that vast territory that has grown from the pioneer settlement on the banks of the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers.

Frank Ford, of Waterford, president of the Pioneer Society of Washington County, represented his organization and spoke of the purpose that animates its being. He urged more concentration on keeping alive the memories of the past; a more generous tribute to those that made today possible.

Prof. Charles B. Galbreath, of Columbus, reviewed the purchase by the State of the Rufus Putnam House and grounds, which made possible the restoration of Campus Martius. He paid tribute to Miss Cotton, G. E. Hayward and B. B. Putnam and others. He warmly praised Senator LeFever and Representative Creighton.

Mrs. Lewis C. Laylin, one of the distinguished guests present for the celebration, gave one of the most interesting talks of the evening. She referred to the efforts of her late husband, Secretary of State Lewis C. Laylin, who helped to get through the bill for the purchase of Campus Martius, and told briefly of her associations with different people who have been actively in the work now so happily culminating.

Mrs. Laylin came here first in 1888, when she and Mr. Laylin were members of the Ohio Centennial Commission and were quartered here for a week as members of the Governor Foraker official party. Then on numerous occasions since, she has enjoyed the hospitality of the Mrs. Lucy Nye Davis home, Fourth Street, where she is a guest this week, and she complimented Mrs. Davis in her talk. She concluded with a fine eulogy of Mrs. Helen Hill Sloan, to whose tireless efforts the major portion of the success of this celebration is attributed.

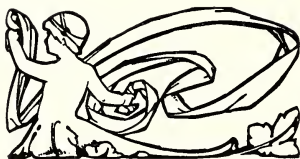
Mrs. Laylin, whose reminiscent talk on Tuesday evening stirred feelings of patriotic pride in all who heard her, has devoted many years of her active effort to the welfare of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. She long has been chairman of the legislative committee of that association*, and has done much to make the name Laylin a household term in the state.

* Mrs. Laylin has been chairman of the legislative committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution for Ohio.

Mrs. Sloan was presented at the conclusion of Mrs. Laylin's address and modestly appeared to recognize the outburst of applause that greeted her introduction by Chairman White.

Miss Willia D. Cotton spoke briefly, announcing that she was substituting for the Hon. Beman G. Dawes, who is chairman of the Campus Martius Committee. She announced that the committee has to date expended \$2700 in rehabilitating the Rufus Putnam House.

Miss Kathryn Parr Nye told in brief the story of the Campus Martius House which was owned for many years by her late cousin, Miss Minerva Tupper Nye, and her recital of the latter's efforts to have it made a permanent shrine in the Northwest Territory was most interesting.



THE DEATH AND FUNERAL OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

BY REV. EDWARD S. LEWIS

One of the most notable campaigns for the presidency of the United States was that of 1840, in which Martin Van Buren and William Henry Harrison contended for that high office. This was perhaps the most picturesque of the presidential campaigns. The Democrats were strong and confident. Harrison, the Whig candidate, was ridiculed by them as being only a western soldier, living in a log cabin and fond of hard cider. But his western friends saw great campaign possibilities in this and they straightway raised the slogan "Our log-cabin and hard-cider candidate," and went enthusiastically into the campaign, fighting hilariously for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." The young country was stirred from east to west and from north to south by the astonishing vote of two hundred and thirty-four in the electoral college for Harrison, to sixty votes for Van Buren. It is recorded that the joy of the Whigs over this astonishing result was little short of delirium. The interval from the election to the inauguration was one long jollification.

As inauguration day approached, President-elect Harrison made a long, fatiguing journey to Washington. The fourth of March was bleak and cold. General Harrison was sixty-eight years of age and not at

all well. He was warned by his friends to avoid all possible exposure, but considered this unworthy of a soldier's hardihood. So, rejecting overcoat and gloves, he rode on horseback for two hours in the inauguration parade, and stood another hour in the open air reading his inaugural address.

The new president was a kind-hearted man and he had many friends. Visitors thronged upon him in the White House, where he entertained them until long after midnight. In spite of this, he would arise very early in the morning and take long walks in the cold March air. He was almost overwhelmed by office seekers, whom he was too kind to keep within bounds.

A severe illness set in, which yielded, however, to medical treatment. But early in April there came a relapse. On Saturday, the third day of that month, from one to two o'clock in the afternoon, he seemed to be getting better. But at three o'clock his symptoms became alarming. His family and friends, and even the doctors, began to doubt his getting well. At six o'clock the members of his cabinet were summoned. At eight forty-five, Dr. Worthington was at his bedside. Harrison said (and it is presumed he was addressing Governor Tyler), "Sir, I wish you to undertake the true principles of the government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more." This was the dying injunction of the good old man, made in a strong tone of voice. At 12:27 on the morning of April fourth, he breathed his last, and without a struggle. He had been insensible for a long while, and his last words were to Dr. Worthington.

At one o'clock, a. m., the members of the cabinet,

after performing their last mournful duties, prepared a letter to the Vice-President officially announcing the fact of the President's death. The funeral was solemnized



TOMB OF WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON
North Bend, Ohio.

on Wednesday, April seventh, at noon, according to the usages of the Episcopal Church, in which church President Harrison usually worshipped.

At 11:30 the Reverend Mr. Hawley, rector of St. John's Church, arose and said that the Bible (covered with black silk) which lay on the table before him was

purchased by the President on the fifth of March, and that he read it daily. He attended church, kneeled for prayer and joined audibly in the service. He said that had the President lived and been in good health he would have attended Holy Communion on the following Sunday.

At twelve o'clock, musicians who had been marched up in front of the portico of the White House played the Portuguese Hymn, during which the body was moved and placed on the car which was out in front. This was drawn by six white horses. The coffin was covered with rich velvet. The procession was two full miles in length, and was marshalled on its way by officers on horseback carrying white batons with black tassels. The utmost order prevailed throughout. After the funeral service the casket was taken to the Congressional Burying-Ground and placed in the receiving tomb.

Washington was draped with black crape, even to door-knobs and knockers. Across the casket were placed two swords, and a scroll of the constitution with a wreath around it. People came to the city from miles around and it seemed as though more was made of the funeral than of the inauguration.

The *Daily Gazette* published the sad news to the people of Cincinnati on Friday morning, April 9, 1841, thus: "General William Henry Harrison died at the President's House in Washington on the fourth day of April, 1841, at thirty-three minutes before one o'clock in the morning." This was prior to the days of the electric telegraph, the first use of which, by the way, was to announce in Washington the nomination in Bal-

timore of James K. Polk, in 1844. The *Gazette* also carried this notice:

Old Soldiers, Attention! The officers and soldiers now in this city and vicinity, who served under General Harrison in the last war, are requested to meet at the Henrie House this day at ten o'clock, a. m., to adopt suitable measures relative to the recent afflicting dispensation of Providence, by which their beloved Old Commander has been removed by death.

The next day the *Gazette* printed the following:

Yesterday most of our stores were closed—the arm of labor rested—bells tolled at intervals throughout the day—minute guns were fired—our public schools were dismissed—and our city was given up to an expression, felt keenly and openly indulged, of profoundest sorrow.

All classes partake in this feeling, yet all bow submissively to the inscrutable dispensation of Him who chastens whom He loves.

In the issue of April 26 appeared this:

It has been suggested that the day set apart by the President as a day of humiliation and prayer, on account of the national bereavement, would be the most suitable day for appropriate funeral honors in this city, and we have been requested to call the attention of the committee to the subject, and to that day, the 14th of May, 1841.

On May 14 this announcement was made:

The eulogium on the character and services of our lamented and illustrious fellow-citizen, the late President of the United States, will be delivered at the Wesleyan Chapel on Fifth Street.

The order of the exercise will be as follows:

1. Solemn music by the Eclectic Academy, to commence at seven, and continue at intervals until seven and one-half o'clock, p. m.
2. Prayer, to commence at seven and one-half o'clock precisely.
3. Solemn music, to continue five minutes.
4. The eulogium, by E. D. Mansfield, Esq.
5. Solemn music, to continue five minutes.
6. The benediction.

The clergy of all denominations; the Mayor, Council and city authorities; all officers of the United States, and the State of Ohio; the citizens generally and such strangers as may be sojourning here, are respectfully invited to attend.

Seats will be reserved for the Clergy and the guests who were invited by special invitations, who will be admitted by the private entrance at the side of the chapel.

The services will commence at half past seven o'clock precisely, previous to which those who may desire to be present on this interesting occasion are earnestly requested to attend, so that as little interruption as possible may occur during the solemn exercises of the evening.

The committee will be in attendance to aid in accommodating as many as possible with seats.

JAMES HALL, *Chairman.*

The committee and detachment of United States Marines arrived at the wharf in Cincinnati with the remains of the late President about three o'clock on the morning of July 5. About eight, the body was conveyed to the residence of Colonel W. H. H. Taylor, followed by the committee and a number of old and eminent friends of the deceased. The funeral at Cincinnati was on Wednesday morning, July 7, 1841. The boat left Cincinnati for North Bend at about one o'clock that afternoon.

The hearse which bore the body from the residence of Colonel Taylor to the steamboat that conveyed it to North Bend was preceded by the company of dragoons, and the several military companies which arrived from the Louisville encampment in time to join in the procession.

The procession moved to solemn music from the residence of Colonel Taylor on Sixth street west to Race street, thence south to Fourth, thence east to Broadway, thence down Broadway to the wharf at the south end of Main street.

The steamer *Raritan* left the wharf for the Bend about one o'clock, carrying with the remains the committees, the detachment of United States Marines, and relatives of the deceased. By special invitation, the Reverend John T. Brooke went down to perform the funeral service of the Church of England at the tomb.

The family of Harrison wished the entombment to be private and with as little ostentation as possible. But people from miles and miles around came to Mt. Nebo to the burial. This was to be regretted, but it showed the feeling of the people for the President. The *Raritan* landed about a mile above the Harrison dwelling, where the remains of General Harrison were taken ashore. The relatives and committees formed in procession after them. As they wound slowly and solemnly toward the tomb, many others who were assembled fell into the line. Others, more anxious to get a look at the coffin which incased the body of the late president, took position ahead, where it was known the funeral train would pass, and thus skirted the entire way.

The casket was transferred from the steamer to a hearse, and the funeral procession passed through the principal streets, preceded and followed by bands of musicians rendering funeral dirges, which contributed to make the occasion still more sorrowful. It was a dismal, rainy day, and for the time being the sun refused to shine. All nature seemed to assume a somber hue; the sky was fringed in its darkest drapery. Everything visible in creation gave signs of general sorrow.

At the tomb a prayer was offered by the Reverend Joshua L. Wilson, of the First Presbyterian Church of

Cincinnati, and the burial service of the Episcopal Church was read by the Reverend John T. Brooke of Christ Church.

The tomb of General Harrison is on an elevated knoll of rare beauty, some three hundred yards from the Ohio River, and about the same distance from the log cabin about which so much was said and sung in the campaign of 1840. Within a very few weeks after the President's demise his cabin home was burned, involving the irreparable loss of his numerous papers, the possession of which would be of great value to the historian. But the house was rebuilt, and the premises have been a shrine of patriotism for years.

The limestone tomb that enclosed the remains of the illustrious dead was neglected for many years, and became dilapidated. But public-spirited citizens have now erected a suitable memorial in its place. A stately monument, sixty feet high, and worthily inscribed, crowns Mt. Nebo, and is visible for many miles. The grounds have been beautified as a public park, which is much frequented by visitors. Just below the monument the majestic river rolls toward the Mississippi, and many miles of the great Bend are in full view. Across it are the fair hills of Kentucky, and all around, the lovely landscape of Ohio. Those who visit this charming spot are stirred not only by its beauty and solemnity, but by the thought that the spot where President Harrison sleeps is the one he loved best in his mortal life.

JAMES GALLOWAY, SR.

In the January issue of the *QUARTERLY* in the contribution entitled, "Revolutionary War Soldiers Buried in Clark County, Ohio," there is on pages 95-96, a sketch of James Galloway, Sr., which contains a number of errors. These are due evidently for the most part to errors in previous sketches in county histories and to a confusion of the name of James Galloway, Sr., with other Galloways by the name of James. The following sketch is by Dr. W. A. Galloway, of Xenia, and is authentic in every particular:

James Galloway, Sr., was born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, May 1st, 1750, and resided there until the War of the American Revolution. The monument marking his grave gives 1775 as the date of his removal from Pennsylvania to Kentucky, where he settled on lands adjacent to Stony Creek in the present bounds of Fayette County.

The military record in the War of the Revolution shows three enlistments: 1776, 1777 and 1779, all of which were served under Pennsylvania officers. For these services he subsequently drew a United States pension.

He was married in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, to Rebekah Junkin on October 29, 1779. Seven children of this union survived, one of whom was given the name of James. The suffixes "Sr." and "Jr.," designating them, became necessary because of their later extensive public relations. James Galloway, Sr., was Treasurer of Greene County, Ohio, from the date of its organization, 1803 to 1819. His son, James Galloway, Jr., was Deputy Surveyor, by appointment, for Virginia Military Lands which lay between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers.

James Galloway, Sr., participated in many Kentucky Indian skirmishes, the most notable of which was the disastrous battle of Big Blue Licks, August 19, 1782. In October following, he joined General George Rogers Clark's punitive expedition against the Shawnees at Old Chillicothe. Considerable "Indian prop-

erty" was destroyed, but no lives on either side were lost during this expedition. He and his friends first saw the fine lands of the Miami valley in 1782, and determined to settle there permanently when safe to do so. After the Treaty of Greenville, 1795, these lands became available for safe settlement.

James Galloway, Sr., and the other first settlers near Old Chillicothe were Scotch Associate Presbyterians (Seceders) who were not in harmony with Kentucky policy of human slavery. For this reason, he, with his family, moved from Kentucky in 1797, and established the permanent family home five miles north of Xenia, Ohio, on the present Springfield and Xenia road. This location was a short distance north of Old Chillicothe, the principal Shawonoese (Shawnee) Indian village on the Little Miami River. From 1797 to the date of his death, he resided at this place. He and his wife are buried in the Massie's Creek Scotch Associate graveyard, usually called the Stevenson cemetery, four and one half miles northeast of Xenia, Ohio. On the memorial tablet is the following inscription:

In memory of James Galloway, born in Pennsylvania, May 1st, 1750, died near Xenia, Ohio, August 6th, 1838, aged 88 years, 8 months, 5 days. He was a pioneer in Kentucky in 1775, a soldier of the Revolution in 1776, an honest man and a pious Christian.

Upon an adjoining stone tablet is the simple inscription, part of which time has effaced:

Rebekah Galloway

Born Oct. 2nd, 1759. Died August 31st, 1812,

Aged 52 years and — months.

CAMP CHARLOTTE SITE MARKED

A granite monument erected near the site of Camp Charlotte bears a bronze tablet with the following inscription:

CAMP CHARLOTTE

Near this spot — the famous Treaty was made between Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, and Chief Cornstalk of the Shawnees and Allied Tribes, in October — 1774.

This Camp was named "Charlotte" after the Queen of England.

Erected by the Pickaway Plains Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

1774

1928

This monument was erected by the Pickaway Plains Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. It was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies on the afternoon of July 11, 1928, by Miss Ann Gill, whose father had for many years owned the land upon which it stands. It is now the property of Mr. C. E. Morris. The camp was located about eight miles east of Circleville on the Adelphi Pike.

After the unveiling the audience joined in singing the Star-Spangled Banner. Reverend Franklin McElfresh gave the invocation. Mrs. O. D. Dailey of Albany, Ohio, State Chairman of the Committee of the D. A. R. on the Marking and Preservation of Historical Spots in Ohio, expressed her appreciation of the marker and patriotic service of the Pickaway Plains Chapter in placing it there. The principal address was made by Mrs. Orson D. Dryer of Columbus, who spoke as follows:

As far back as 1667 the Shawnee tribes of Indians were known to be in Ohio.

The Indians were very much dissatisfied with the first treaty which was concluded in 1764. By that treaty Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania were given to the Indians for their hunting grounds, but when the whites began to encroach upon their territory trouble commenced and murders followed. The first murder committed by the Indians on the Virginia border was in 1753.

About 1773 trouble started between the Virginians on the border and the Indians, which was kept up until in the fall of 1774. Lord Dunmore, who was the last Colonial governor of Virginia, came with about twelve hundred men from Virginia to Camp Charlotte. Dunmore was a short, sturdy Scotchman, who during the campaign of 1774 shared the hardships with the privates, marching on foot and carrying his own knapsack. He held that his first allegiance was due the Crown and he supported his sovereign, King George, but was also eager to champion the cause of Virginia against either the Indians, or sister colonists.

On their way to Camp Charlotte, after untold hardships, marching through unbroken timber, fording streams, and surrounded by hostile Indians, they were met by a messenger who told them of the victory of General Andrew Lewis at Point Pleasant, which caused great joy. Two days later a messenger from Cornstalk, the Shawnee chief, came suing for peace, but the next day they continued their journey to Camp Charlotte. Upon arriving here Lord Dunmore peeled a white oak, in the center of the camp, and wrote with red chalk "Camp Charlotte," honoring either his queen or his wife, both named Charlotte.

Three days after their arrival at the camp, about the middle of October, eight Indian chiefs, with Cornstalk at their head, came to camp with an interpreter. When he learned who Cornstalk was, Dunmore, from written memoranda, recited various infractions on the part of the Indians, of former treaties made and murders committed. Cornstalk replied, mixing a great deal of recrimination with the defense of the red brethren.

When he had concluded, a time was set for the chiefs of different nations to meet at the camp to negotiate a treaty. Before the arrival of that period Cornstalk came alone to camp and told the Governor that none of the Mingoes would come and he was apprehensive that a full council could not be convened. Dunmore then requested him to bring as many of the other nations as possible, as he was anxious to close the war peaceably. Meantime, two interpreters were dispatched to Logan, a Mingo chief, who was encamped near the Logan Elm.

He replied he was a warrior and not a councillor, and would not come.

Shortly after the return of the interpreter to Camp Charlotte, Cornstalk and two other chiefs made their appearance and entered into negotiations which terminated in an agreement to forbear further hostilities, to give up prisoners, and to be at Pittsburgh with as many Indian chiefs as could be prevailed upon to meet the Commissioners from Virginia, the ensuing summer, where the treaty was to be concluded and ratified.

Dunmore required hostages to guarantee the performance of the stipulations on the part of the Indians. By this treaty the war of 1774 was concluded.

If Cornstalk, at Point Pleasant, displayed the generalship of a mighty captain, at the negotiations at Camp Charlotte he displayed the skill of a statesman, joined to powers of oratory rarely, if ever, surpassed.

My great grandfather, Colonel Benjamin Wilson, was then an officer in Dunmore's army, and his narrative of the campaign furnished the facts which were recorded in Withers' *Chronicles of Border Warfare*. When the speeches were delivered, he sat immediately behind and close to Dunmore. In remarking on the appearance and manner of Cornstalk while speaking, he says: "When he arose, he was in no wise confused or daunted, but spoke in a distinct and audible voice, without stammering or repetition, and with peculiar emphasis. His looks, while addressing Dunmore, were truly grand and majestic, yet graceful and attractive. I have heard the first orators in Virginia, Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee, but never have I heard one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstalk on that occasion." If that speech had been preserved it might have been equally famous with Logan's.

The Circleville Chapter, D. A. R., are to be congratulated on placing this monument and bronze tablet here to mark the spot where the famous treaty of 1774 was held. The ground of the camp, comprising some ten or twelve acres, should be owned and kept up by the great state of Ohio.

The program closed with the singing of America and benediction by Reverend Dr. McElfresh. After the exercises a number of those in attendance at the attendance at the ceremonies were pleasantly entertained at the home of Mrs. Clark K. Hunsicker, 146 West Union Street, Circleville, Ohio.

REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY THE EDITOR

THE NATION'S HISTORY

A new edition of *The Nation's History* by two Ohio authors, Arthur R. Leonard, head of the Department of History in the Central High School, and Bertha E. Jacobs of the North High School, of Columbus, Ohio, has just been issued by Henry Holt and Company of New York City.

The content of the volume of 648 pages with addenda, including 37 pages of biography, a list of important dates in 1789, and a copy of the Constitution of the United States, is up to date in every particular. It includes an account of the flight of Lindbergh to Paris and his good-will flights to Central and South America. It is copiously and judiciously illustrated and contains some interesting plates in color.

In their "Preface to the New Edition" the authors make the following statement:

The necessity for making new plates has made possible a careful revision of the text in the interest of simplification and teachableness. The helpful suggestions of teachers who have used the earlier edition have determined the direction of all changes made. The earlier chapters of the book have been shortened to make room for a fuller treatment of the Industrial Revolution and recent history. New thought-provoking problems have been added, and the unit organization of the book has been emphasized by previews and self tests.

The authors hope that in its new dress the book may be more useful than before in helping boys and girls to an intelligent understanding and appreciation of our Nation's History.

While this work was written especially to meet the demands for a seventh and eighth grade text-book in American history, the interesting matter and style of the work commend it to a much wider patronage. Open it at almost any page and you will find it so interesting that you will reluctantly lay it aside. Great care has been exercised in the statement of facts and judgments of the writers are just and free from bias.

This book was reviewed in a previous number of the QUARTERLY. We can only add that the new edition fulfills the promise set forth in the preface quoted above, and is a very worthy addition to the literature of the history of the United States.

INTERESTING AND VALUABLE CHRONICLES OF SCIOTO COUNTY

Henry T. Bannon, former congressman and eminent lawyer of Portsmouth, Ohio, has published a real contribution to the history of Ohio in *Stories Old and Often Told, Being Chronicles of Scioto County, Ohio*. While these stories are old and some of them have been frequently told, the author presents them in a new light and an attractive style. We quote from his introduction. It is a statement of his method and a plea for the writing of local history.

Many were the books that were read, many were the library catalogues examined, many were the volumes thumbed through, that this simple book might be made. The doing of it has been a joy. That the effort may prove wasted, is a fear. These chronicles are faithful; as thorough as the writer's diligence and perseverance could make them. Mistakes there may be, but the

salient outstanding facts are here. There has been no yielding to temptations either to state conclusions or to make forecasts. History must live in the past; a man, never.

The study of history is a stimulus to youth. Such was the inspiration for Longfellow's lines, beginning, "Lives of great men oft remind us." The history of a nation can deal only with the very few who have attained the pinnacles of fame. But the lives of the outstanding men of any community, men known in person, or by their works, to the youthful reader, are better reminders to such readers that they, too, may make their lives sublime; and, departing, leave behind them their footprints on the sands of time. It is the age old struggle with oblivion. Genius is a germ either present or absent at birth. If present, it will grow. If not, it cannot be acquired. But persistence, application, economy, and integrity will make useful men and women of us all. What such men and women may accomplish, the community accomplishes; no more, no less. Many are they, unmentioned here, who have done much to make Scioto County notable. To tell of each is impossible; to discriminate is unthinkable. Our development is due to the concerted efforts of bankers who knew credits; merchants versed in salesmanship; farmers who rotated crops; manufacturers who knew their costs; artisans, skilled and earnest; lawyers, learned and alert; physicians, sympathetic and wise; teachers, patient and thorough; statesmen, logical and foresighted. All are merged into a narration of events creative of our common weal. The youth of Scioto County can, and they will carry on the work of those men and women who have done the things set down in this book.

The work throughout bears evidence of the statement of the author, "These chronicles are faithful; as thorough as the writer's diligence and perseverance could make them." Every page bears testimony to the consultation of authorities, and the exercise of good judgment in weighing testimony and in the winnowing of the material of real importance from the mess of authorities consulted. As evidence of his judicious handling of conflicting sources, we quote his statement on the French claim that La Salle discovered the Ohio River. On this subject he says:

La Salle is known to history as an early explorer of the Great Lakes region, the Mississippi Valley, and the Ohio River. There is documentary proof that La Salle descended the Ohio River to "the falls" (now Louisville) in 1670. This proof is not without elements of weakness, however, and some historians refuse to accord him that honor. Parkman bases his conclusion that La Salle discovered the Ohio upon a memorial written by the explorer in 1677, in which he states that he made such discovery and, also, upon the fact that his rival, Joliet, recorded upon his map, dated 1674, that La Salle followed the route of the Ohio. It is conceded that he knew of the existence of the river and was searching for it. The intensity of his courage and determination add much weight to the claims made in his favor. But it is certain that La Salle made a voyage on the Mississippi. By virtue of this voyage, France claimed all the region drained by the Mississippi River. This, of course, included the Ohio Valley.

The book is an excellent example in typography, paper and illustrations of first-class modern book-makers' art. The illustrations are appropriate. They include facsimiles of manuscripts and maps not usually found in one volume. Some of the chapters scarcely belong exclusively to "Stories Old." Among the chapters that have a very distinct reference to later time are "The Clay Products Industry," "The Shoe Industry" and "Poets of Scioto County." An appendix of 38 pages is devoted to weather reports, flood and low water stages, plants, birds and the origin of place names, all of which are distinct additions to the value of the work.

THE JOURNAL OF NICHOLAS CRESSWELL

1774-1777

There has recently come into the possession of the library of this Society *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell*. Cresswell came to America in 1774 and remained until 1777. He came intending to purchase land in the

Illinois country. Shortly after he reached America, the Revolution began and he could not return to his native country, England. He was a faithful subject of the King and was not in sympathy with the Revolution. He was regarded with suspicion by the American patriots and experienced all the difficulties of a Tory during the greater part of his enforced sojourn in this country. In 1775 he made a journey down the Ohio River accompanied by seven men, who like himself, were interested in the purchase of land. This ranks with other important early voyages down that historic waterway.

He was well educated, as his *Journal* of 287 pages attests. The observations that he has faithfully recorded constitute a valuable account of conditions in America in the early years of the Revolution and the period of unrest immediately preceding it, from the point of view of a loyal subject of King George III of England. He met some of the men who figure prominently in the history of the time and is frank in his opinions of their actions and character. He is equally frank in regard to his own activities and opinions. When we understand that he was in entire sympathy with the Tories, we may readily admit that from his point of view his *Journal* is a record of facts as he saw them and a sincere expression of his judgment.

His observations on the life and character of "General Washington" are full of interest and not altogether to the discredit of "The Father of his Country." We quote briefly:

The General seems by nature calculated for the post he is in; he has a manner and behaviour peculiar to himself and particularly adapted to his present station and rank in life. It is said

(and I believe with great truth) that he never had an intimate, particular bosom friend, or an open professed enemy in his life. By this method of behaviour he in a great measure prevents all parties and factions, and raises a spirit of emulation amongst his officers and men. As there is no favourite to pay their court to and pave their way to preferment, and the General, I believe, is proof against bribery, they have no way to advance themselves but by merit alone. His private character is amiable, he is much beloved and respected by all his acquaintances. [Page 256].

Again he said:

He certainly deserves some merit as a General, that he with his Banditti, can keep General Howe dancing from one town to another for two years together, with such an Army as he has. Confound the great Chuclehead, he will not unmuzzle the mastiffs, or they would eat him and his ragged crew in a little time were they properly conducted with a man of resolution and spirit. Washington, my Enemy as he is, I should be sorry if he should be brought to an ignominious death. [Page 257].

It is remarkable that this Journal should have been carefully preserved in private hands in almost perfect condition for one hundred and forty-seven years before its publication. The Foreword to the book is written by Samuel Thornely of West Sussex, England. Mr. Thornely is the great-grandson of Joseph Cresswell, the youngest brother of Nicholas Cresswell. The book is published by The Dial Press, New York City.

POPULATION MAP OF OHIO, 1920

Mr. Guy-Harold Smith of the Ohio State University has contributed to the *Geographical Review* of July, 1928, a very valuable and illuminating monograph entitled, *A Population Map of Ohio for 1920*. The text is concise and comprehensive. No words are wasted. Much information is compressed in the seven pages of printed matter. The two maps, the "Physiographic

Provinces of Ohio" and the "Population of Ohio, 1920," are illuminating and tell their story at a glance.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA

The Old Free State, a Contribution to the History of Lunenburg County and Southside Virginia, is the title of a very interesting and valuable addition that has recently been made to the library of the Society. This work in two volumes by Landon C. Bell contains a wealth of historical and genealogical material gleaned by faithful and painstaking research from original sources. A review of this important contribution to the history of "The Old Dominion" will appear in a future issue of the QUARTERLY.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We are under obligation to Mr. B. A. Aughinbaugh, Ohio Department of Education, for use of a photograph from which the cut of the tomb of William Henry Harrison has been made for this issue.

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